

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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ART. I. — AMUSEMENTS.*

WE have read Mr. Sawyer's "Plea for Amusements" with much satisfaction, and we shall be glad if our brief notice of some of the topics of which it treats should recommend it to the attention of others. Its purpose is to vindicate amusements from the common prejudices that prevail in respect to them, and to show their legitimate place in a rightly ordered life. The views of the author seem to us to be characterized alike by good sense and Christian feeling, and they are likely to have more weight with many from the fact, — at least we so understand, — that in his religious opinions his sympathies are with those who have commonly looked with most distrust on those pleasures which are classed under the general name of amusements.

New England Christianity has been severe and stern. Its frown has done much to scare away the lighter graces and pleasures of life. It allows of raptures and excitements, — if they are religious. It is slow to recognize the propriety of any pleasures but those which it terms sacred. It delights in "Old Hundred," acquiesces in an oratorio, but regards an opera as a device of the Adversary. It permits young people to walk together, but, if the walk quickens into a dance, professing Christians have very commonly thought it necessary to be shocked. The tendency has

* *A Plea for Amusements.* By FREDERIC W. SAWYER. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1847. 12mo. pp. 320.

been to decry amusements, as at least perilous to the soul, if not positively wrong. The more strict have regarded them with apprehension, and the less rigid have felt that they were, at the best, to be apologized for and defended.

Of course, no one will maintain the propriety of any class of amusements, or of any mode of participating in those which are least objectionable, the final result of which, on the whole, is to deaden the conscience, or to unfit one for the more serious duties of life. We are no more disposed to defend the abuses of amusements than the abuses of business.

But having made this qualification, we are free to say that we consider the estimate commonly put on amusements by religious people as entirely unwarranted. It seems to us a mere prejudice, unauthorized both by conscience and revelation, and in conflict with the primary laws of man's nature. In our view, amusements, under the plan of Providence, form an essential part of the great system of influences by which human faculties are trained, and are as indispensable as labor to the healthy development and growth of body and mind and heart. So far from apologizing for them as useless at the best, of questionable innocence, and inconsistent with our higher ideas of virtue and piety, we believe them, in their place, to be useful to all, and absolutely necessary to the young. The ascetic spirit is as unfavorable to morals and religion as to human happiness.

We go further, and say that a sufficient reason for participating in them is that they give pleasure. To the calculating question, put in doleful tones, Of what use are they? we answer, their use is that they give enjoyment, and this is enough. If it be further asked, whether the time could not be more profitably spent, we answer, probably not. In its due proportion, we know of no better way of spending time than in enjoying what God has given to be enjoyed. Our Maker has created us with keen sensibilities to pleasure and provided us with the means of gratifying them, and it is proper, in subjection to the Divine law, to use these means for the purpose for which they were intended. We see no reason for supposing that the Infinite Goodness does not regard with as much approbation the hours which men spend in innocent social pleasures, as those which are employed in accumulating property, or in advancing one's ambitious ends. Doubtless there are many who carry amuse-

ment to excess; but among a people so engrossed and occupied as ours, the far greater danger is that they will suffer from the want of them.

The author of the volume before us has presented in a striking light some of the prominent facts in the history of asceticism. It is no new thing to regard religion as inconsistent with the lighter pleasures of life. According to him, the first sect of religionists whose principles were hostile to the rational enjoyment of the pleasures and amusements of the world was that of the Pharisees. With them, fasts and forms and long prayers and ostentatious self-impositions were deemed essential as the means of securing the Divine favor. They were shocked by the lax practice of our Saviour. They were careful to take note of his ways, and charged him with being "gluttonous and a wine-bibber."

But above all other times, asceticism triumphed during the Dark Ages. It established the system of self-inflicted penances. It built the monastery and nunnery. It taught that a man's hopes of heaven grew bright very much in proportion as he made himself uncomfortable on earth. The ideal Christian, to be venerated by men and loved of God as a saint, was one who watched by night and scourged himself by day, who, entombed in a cell and mumbling prayers, in poverty and dirt, dragged out a useless and wretched existence. It deemed it a duty to be unsocial and to deny the natural affections. No system could have been devised better fitted to make men cruel and merciless. The natural amusement of asceticism was to torture and burn those who were hated, and its legitimate offspring was the Inquisition. And then, and now, such exaltation of artificial virtues and creation of artificial sins have been at the expense of the real virtue and piety of society.

In remarkable contrast with this are the instructions of the Scriptures. In the Mosaic Law, the appointed days of feasting were many, and of fasting, few. On their three great festivals the Jews were taught to meet together. They offered sacrifices, and feasted, and with songs and music and dances rejoiced before God. Taking into account the change of circumstances in other respects and their special objects, these festivals bore much resemblance to our Thanksgiving and Christmas days. If we come down to a later period, we find that our Saviour prescribed no fasts or penances. He took great pains to prevent the substitution of

artificial, outside virtues in the place of those which were real. As if to show in the most impressive manner that true religion is in harmony with all innocent pleasures, his first miracle was with the express purpose of promoting the festivities of a marriage feast. He did on that occasion what multitudes would be more shocked by now, if repeated by a professing Christian, than if they were to see one in an indirect way break half the commands of the decalogue.

We look on amusements as necessary to man. They certainly are so to the young. The love of them, so long as it is kept under proper restraint, is no more to be suppressed than the love of study. God has made the child, for wise purposes, to have a strong craving for social pleasure. It dreads to be alone. It rejoices in bodily activity, and in the indulgence of animal spirits. A child that seeks solitude and quiet, and is indisposed to join in the plays of its companions, is to be watched. It is, probably, either bodily or mentally diseased. And even when this solitary disposition is associated with a tendency to religious contemplation, it is not less the sign of disease. Instead of rejoicing over it, the parent may fear lest it be only the symptom of a too delicate organization, and, it may be, of premature death. If the disposition be indulged, the child, though mild, amiable, and shrinking from conflict, is very likely to become egotistical and selfish.

In the plan of Providence, amusements occupy a very important place in the moral culture of the child. In its plays, its social nature is awakened, its affections are called out, and it passes through a perpetual moral discipline suited to its age and faculties. More than anywhere else, it is here that its habits of self-control, of disinterestedness and truth and justice, are determined and fixed. If compelled to choose between them, we should think the advantage greater to a child of having for playmates those who were good-tempered, generous, truthful, pure-minded, than to have such a person for a teacher. Those in the habit of observing children will, we think, agree, that very often the most important part of their moral education is going on, unconsciously to themselves, while they are engaged in their sports with their companions.

What is true of childhood is scarcely less true of youth; and those of maturest years, who are occupied with the most engrossing cares and burdened by the heaviest responsi-

bilities, feel the need of systematic relaxation and amusement in order that the mind may preserve its elasticity and freshness. Amusements are needed by all. They interrupt the monotonous round of toil for gain and distinction. They smooth away asperities, and bring together the members of society in varied and pleasant relations. They promote cordiality and refinement of manners, while sympathy in common pleasures calls forth the social feelings in healthful ways. And we do not see why they have not as many affinities with religion as the common employments and ends of life. It would seem as if one might as reasonably and naturally give thanks to God for the pleasures he has enjoyed as for his worldly prosperity. For aught we can see, the state of mind fostered by the reasonable enjoyment of amusements is as favorable to religion as that which comes out of the ordinary haunts of money-making. Could they be altogether banished, it would not be to the gain of morals and piety. The only probable result would be, that men would yield more than now to the steady, uninterrupted despotism of the sordid and unsocial passions.

Doubtless, amusements are liable to great abuse. But the tendency to abuse has been greatly increased by the way in which they have been put under the ban of religion. The common feeling requires that a young person who thinks seriously of a religious life should, as the first step, desert every place of amusement. If it be with a solemn face, he may go on eagerly grasping and hoarding, almost unblamed; but to join in a dance would, in many cases, subject him to being brought up for admonition before the church. Thus all amusements come to be associated with irreligion. Many of those who participate in them do it with a doubtful conscience, and, with this feeling, what in itself is innocent becomes to them the source of moral harm. And what is worse, having once made up their minds to indulge in what they are taught to believe is wrong, they palter with their consciences, and stifle their religious convictions, and practise unworthy concealments, and rush unrestrained into excesses, and convert what rightly enjoyed would have been healthful into moral poison. The tendency to excess under the present state of things deserves great consideration.

"Our opportunities for social enjoyment are [occur] so seldom," says Mr. Sawyer, "that the temptation to prolong them

to a late hour is not to be wondered at. The very fact that we do so prolong them, under our system, shows that we crave more amusements than we get; and hence sleep, and rest, and, perhaps, parental favor, are often sacrificed to secure as much as possible of them while they are within our reach. That only shows that the appetite for amusement is like the natural appetite; if it is denied its reasonable gratification at one time, it will gorge itself to repletion at another, when opportunity offers.

"The present system of popular amusements is one that is designed to crowd the enjoyments that properly should be distributed through weeks and months, into a single day or evening. In many, if not in most, of our quiet New England villages, the prejudice of the religious portion of the inhabitants is so great against dancing, that it is seldom or never tolerated at private parties or in the family circle. The inextinguishable love of that amusement is generally so great among the young folks of those places, that it usually finds vent, during the season, in two or three public balls. As the period for one of those assemblies approaches, the little village is thrown into an unusual state of excitement. The young men hold nightly caucuses, for weeks together, to determine upon and settle all the preliminaries of the great event. While this miniature parliament is holding its nightly sessions, and burdened with internal dissensions about the best mode of overcoming the scruples of numerous stern parents, who object to letting their daughters participate in such amusements, and while they are canvassing for managers, the female portion of the village are in a perfect fever of excitement. All are on tiptoe to know who are going, and what the minister and the deacon have determined to do about letting their children go, if any one should be so daring as to invite them. Weeks and weeks are spent in thus exciting the whole village, before the parents of many of the young persons can be induced to consent to let them participate in the amusement. At length the labors of the young people are crowned with success; the parents' consent has been granted 'for this once,' and their enjoyments have commenced.

"Now what can those parents expect of young persons who have got together for enjoyment, after so much labor, toil, and trouble? Do they expect that they will dance an hour or two, in a quiet, healthy manner, and then severally retire to their homes satisfied? No! they cannot expect any such thing, if they have *any* knowledge of human nature. For parents to talk of an amusement being continued to an unreasonable hour, where it is got up under such circumstances, is preposterous. They have no right to expect any thing else than that each one will endeavour to secure all of the enjoyment that he can from the diversion, *while he can*. You might as well expect a thirsty traveller,

in a desert, to drink sparingly, when he is not only incited by previous abstinence, but by fears of scarcity for the future. They come home worn out with excessive indulgence, and the next day, perhaps, they are feverish and stupid, and their parents, forthwith, denounce dancing; but there is no more reason in doing it than for them to denounce food, if they should keep the same persons hungry for weeks and months, and then send them off, alone, to a well-loaded table, to indulge without check or hindrance, and should afterwards find them sick with over-indulgence. In both cases, there is an effort of nature to restore herself to her natural state, and claim her own.

"Now suppose the parents of those young people had looked upon dancing as an amusement that was well enough, if pursued at proper hours and in a proper manner, and had taken a rational view of it. They would have seen that their children would have the amusement in some manner, and, instead of undertaking, under such circumstances, to oppose dancing, or to remain even neutral as to it, they would have gratified their taste for it by allowing them, at least occasionally, to indulge in it an hour or two; and for that purpose they would have opened their own houses. Is there any reason to suppose, that, under such a state of things, there would be any disposition to get up assemblies, and to prolong them to unreasonable hours?"

"This objection to amusements on account of its leading the young into habits of over-indulgence and dissipation would vanish immediately, if they were furnished regularly, and pursued in common, without distinction of age or sex. The appetite for them would never be left to hanker for them inordinately, and there would always be such an influence within the circle of the amusement as to preclude all dissipation." — pp. 265 – 269.

Unquestionably, many evils now spring out of the amusements which prevail in society. How shall these evils be remedied?

The first step towards a better state of things is, for religious men to recognize the place which amusements hold in human life. Instead of regarding them as if a serious man could, at the most, only overlook and wink at them in the young, a wise Christian parent will take scarcely less pains to put his children into the way of those which are suited to their age than he takes in providing them with schools. He will avoid calling that which is good evil, as carefully as he avoids calling evil good. Knowing that they must have pleasures, that they ought to have them, and that these pleasures will go far to decide the social relations and deeply affect the

dispositions and moral tastes and habits of his children, he will not leave them to chance. Instead of giving the young the idea, that the uncalculating hilarity of a fresh and unworn nature necessarily partakes of sin and implies a frivolous worldliness, or that a solemn face is a special sign of a good heart, he will rather lead them to be grateful to God for the sensibility to pleasure which he has given, and for the means of enjoyment. This point is strongly urged in the volume before us.

"Instead of amusements, like other things, being in the hands of the religious and the irreligious, so that one shall be a check upon the other, they are surrendered entirely into the hands of the latter. Instead of the ripened in years approving, encouraging, superintending, and regulating them, they are handed over without check to the young. Nothing in the world could be more disastrous. Let the religious community act in the same manner with regard to any thing else of that nature, and nothing could save it from perversion. Let religious men all retire from any one branch of trade, as inconsistent with their profession, and how long would it be before the character of that branch of business would decline? Let them withdraw their support from common schools, the newspaper press, or any thing of that nature, and it would be a sorry compliment to them to say that the character of those schools and that press would not deteriorate in consequence. Let them withdraw from the political arena, and who would feel the same security that he now does in the permanency of our institutions? Could the moral pressure from without do one tithe towards restraining vicious legislation that the same body of Christians could do at their posts, making their principles felt, and meeting their whole duty? Would not one vote at the ballot-box be more effectual than whole broadsides of criticism and censure from the press or the desk?

"The village pastor gives no entertainments, of any kind, to his parishioners, and would as soon think of turning his parlour into a bear-garden as to allow it to be used in the entertainment of them, in the enjoyment of the dance, or any other light and joyous amusement. The officers of the church are usually more rigid on those points than their pastor, while the members of the church seldom venture to break over the rules of self-denial that are imposed upon them by their superiors. Those, perhaps, constitute a majority of the most influential families in the place, and the social condition of that village is fixed by those few leading individuals. Thus social amusements are effectually excluded from the firesides of the majority of the leading families in the parish. Nothing is done by them to amuse or entertain the

young, the middle-aged, or the aged. Nothing is done by them to fill up those long winter-evening hours, so capable of useful appropriation.

"Though *they* provide no place for social amusements, is no place provided? Who does not know that that system has made the village inn, with its bar-room, as much an adjunct of the village church as the grave-yard? In that respect, travel in what direction you will, the church-steeple carries consolation to the thirsty traveller, for he knows that the tap-room is near. Why is this? The answer is a plain one. Men will be social. It is their nature. If every thing festive and social is banished from the fireside, they will seek the enjoyment of each other's society somewhere else; and if no better place offers, they will resort to the bar-room, or even the dram-shop."—pp. 175–178.

Another most desirable point is, for different ages and sexes to associate together in seasons of pleasure. God has united them together in the most sacred of all relations, that of the family, that the aged and the young, man and woman, may act and react on each other. The order of Providence is never violated except to the harm of all. Every one has been witness of the fact, that if young men form the habit of seeking amusement by themselves, herding together in their pleasures, it ends almost invariably in their mutual corruption. What is true of them is equally true of all other ages and classes. The author of the volume before us describes the union of different ages and sexes as "the conservative principle of society." Each is a healthful restraint on the other, and each will run to excess without the other. If a young man associate only with young men, his pleasures will probably become coarse and debasing. The society of woman is the restraining and refining power appointed by Providence. It is good for the aged to mingle with children. It helps to preserve the freshness of the heart. And the sports of children are never more agreeable or profitable than when carried on under the sympathizing eyes of those older than themselves. An illustration of the utility of bringing different classes together on occasions of pleasure is seen in those public festivities in which women have been induced to take a part. Public dinners were formerly too often tainted with coarseness, excess, and intemperance; but wherever woman has been seated at the table, the excess has disappeared, the occasion has been made more intellectual, and the enjoyment doubled.

There is no part of the book before us of more value than that which treats of the importance of associating amusements with domestic life. Let no pains be spared in making those hours the pleasantest which are spent with parents and brothers and sisters. The young man has lost one of the safeguards of his virtue, in whose memory home is connected only with unreasonable restraints and formal lessons, but whose pleasures recall seasons stolen from the watchfulness, or spent in defiance of the commands, of parents. So far as amusements are innocent, let parents show that they take pleasure in seeing their children participate in them as far as is reasonable. Let the home be made so happy, and the intercourse of neighbours and friends be so arranged, that the young shall not feel the desire of seeking amusements away from those whose presence is their best protection and restraint. Much of the concealment, and the consequent danger and excess, of the pleasures of the young is owing to the dulness of home, and to the way in which parents so often treat nearly all amusement, as if it were a mournful frivolity or sin.

The general subject assumes a more serious interest as we enter our large cities, and is at the same time embarrassed by greater difficulties. For example, to look at it under a single aspect, in the city of Boston there are hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of young men, of sixteen years of age and upwards, employed as clerks and apprentices. Great numbers of these are from the country, and their only home in the city is a boarding-house. Their kindred and friends are at a distance, they have no acquaintance with families, and their associates, when the hours of business are over, are young men like themselves. Their employers can exercise but a limited supervision over them, and they are left very much to choose their own friends and pleasures. How shall their evenings be occupied? We are not unmindful of the exertions which have been made to provide for those thus situated profitable ways of employing their leisure time. Public libraries have been opened, large provision has been made in winter for public lectures, and the means of improvement are put within the reach of all who desire to make use of them. But, on the other hand, the means of amusement and pleasure have, to a great extent, been left to be provided by those who take no interest in the moral welfare of the young, whose only object is gain,

and whose profit is often increased by pandering to the lower tastes and inclinations. Besides places of amusement which furnish occupation for leisure hours without tempting those who visit them, fifteen hundred dram-shops and bar-rooms throw open their doors, and solicit the entrance of the idle and the lonely. In not a few places, gambling goes on with closed shutters and guarded doors, from night till morning; while licentiousness opens for the unwary those gates over which ought to be written, in letters of fire, "Who enters here leaves hope behind." It is not to be expected that all these evils should be removed from a large city, and they whose inclinations are bad will always find or create the means of vicious indulgence. But large numbers of the young who are finally corrupted were originally well disposed. They were, probably, infirm of purpose, and possessed few resources, and their ruin might be traced in a great measure to the fact, that no way was provided for occupying those hours which are properly given to relaxation and pleasure. In many cases they are obliged to choose between spending the evening alone in their chamber, or looking for companions where they will be surrounded by the appliances of temptation. For want of a more suitable place to which they may go, they find their way into some bar-room. The companions whom they there meet speedily become their associates, and among them are those who initiate them step by step into all the haunts and ways of dissipation. Something like this is the history of multitudes of those who are finally led down to ruin and moral death. Among the means of saving such young persons from exposure, one is to provide safe, and at the same time agreeable, ways of spending their leisure hours. We do not suppose that this alone is enough to protect them from danger. But it certainly is most desirable that these haunts of corruption should be supplanted by places of amusement free from seductions to evil. It is scarcely more important to suppress the former than it is to provide the latter. Instead of frowning on amusements, and thus making them all dangerous, it would be well if those interested in the moral and religious welfare of the city would see that those which are safe and attractive were made accessible to the young. The man is a public benefactor who opens a new place of amusement to which the unoccupied, the weary, and the lonely may go and spend an occasional evening pleasantly, without being exposed to moral harm.

In the common attempts made to regulate amusements and to improve their character, it seems to us that the chief stress is laid on what is, after all, but a subordinate point. We classify them as good and safe, as unsafe and bad, and think it enough if the latter are suppressed. The great fact is neglected, that an amusement which is healthful to one may, to another of a different age, character, and situation, be ruinous. Then, too, things may change, while the name remains the same. A bowling-alley to which the idle and dissipated resort for the purpose of gambling is a public nuisance. On the other hand, a bowling-alley made use of in a large city, as the best kind of exercise within their means, by men who spend ten or twelve hours a day leaning over desks in offices and counting-rooms, may be to them the source of health and lengthened days and useful labors. It certainly is possible to conceive of methods in which a theatre could be conducted, so that, on the whole, it should be a profitable institution in a large city; and we know it may be so conducted as to be full of peril to the public morals. Besides, to suppress even dangerous amusements does not touch the true point. If the character of a people remains the same, the same inclinations will invent, under new names, new methods for securing the old gratifications.

The true method of raising the character of amusements is quite different from this. Amusements depend on tastes; and the only way to regulate amusements is to go behind them, and regulate tastes. The only way to improve and elevate them is to lead young persons to cultivate a higher order of tastes. If a young man has never cultivated any taste but for eating and drinking, he will probably find his way in leisure hours to the places where those like himself resort. If, instead of this, you give him a taste for music or any of the fine arts, the amusements which he seeks and values will undergo a corresponding change. If he has fostered a taste for any branch of science or literature, his evenings are likely to be spent in reading, in lecture-rooms, or with those interested in the same pursuits with himself. To raise the character of his amusements, it is not enough to denounce those which now attract him; but he must be led to cultivate a higher class of tastes, with the assurance, that, when this is accomplished, the amusements may generally be left to take care of themselves. Those causes are improving the character of social amusements, which are

awakening in the young an interest in intellectual pursuits and moral enterprises. Societies, libraries, public lectures, galleries of pictures and statues help to promote this good end. Whatever leads young persons to feel a deeper interest in the moral welfare of society acts speedily and beneficently on public amusements. They are elevated and freed from harmful associations by whatever strengthens and purifies the affections of domestic life. They are made safer by all that adds to the authority of the conscience. But then, and then only, are they perfectly healthful and safe, when, like the most serious duties of life, they are brought under the control of the highest law, when they are sought and enjoyed under a prevailing desire to do nothing which Almighty God may not look down upon with approval. This sentiment, thoroughly awakened, is the one which gives stability to moral principle. It imparts something of its own dignity to the humblest labors. And, like the sunshine on the earth, it sheds on the pleasures of life a cheerful and healthful light. It brings the moral nature into such a state, that, as a matter of taste and choice, one will seek and enjoy only that which is pure and good ; while it so repels what is evil, that he who possesses it may walk through temptation, like the men of old through the flames, who came out with not so much as "the smell of fire" on their garments.

We have endeavoured in these pages to present some of the views which Mr. Sawyer has given at length in the volume before us, and we now conclude by commending the volume itself to our readers. The work is diffuse, and parts of it are taken up with the discussion of points which the object he had in view probably made it needful for him to consider, but which will be of subordinate interest to most of our readers. His conclusions may not in all cases be assented to, but on the whole the book is well worthy of being read, and many of its suggestions deserve to be carefully pondered by parents, and by all who are interested in the true welfare of society.

E. P.

ART. II. — ZWINGLE AND LUTHER.

HIGH up among the bleak and frozen summits of the Alps of Tockenbourg, on the first of January, 1484, while the inhabitants of Wildhouse were celebrating with prayers and thanksgivings their "happy new year," the joyful intelligence spread from dwelling to dwelling, that another son was added to the ancient and honored family of Zwingle. Had these simple people known what mighty energies were wrapped up in this child, what victories he would win over the errors of the world, and what truths he would establish, they would have joined hallelujahs to their songs of rejoicing, and hailed him as their great spiritual deliverer.

Just seven weeks before this event, Martin Luther was born. Far away among the valleys of the North, in the little town of Eisleben, he who was to become the great German Reformer lay in his cradle. If some prophet could have revealed the mysteries of the future, Saxony and Switzerland might have boasted of Christian heroes in their swaddling-clothes, whom they would have welcomed as the Moses and Aaron of a new dispensation, their leaders from the Pharaoh of the seven hills, more powerful than was he of the pyramids, — from the Egypt of the Tiber, darker than the Egypt of the Nile.

It is a little remarkable that two such men, born within two months of each other, and living so far apart, should have been aroused by the same Papal enormities, and have embraced the principles and proclaimed the doctrines of the Reformation at nearly the same time. Tetzel, by the sale of indulgences, awakened Luther to the sins of the Church. Samson, by the same iniquitous traffic, hastened the Reformation among the Alps. While Luther was preaching in a dilapidated shed in the great square of Wittemberg, Zwingle was quietly teaching the Gospel to his little flock in his church at Zürich. And while, in the moral darkness that brooded over the world, a voice seemed to be heard from the valleys, crying, "Watchman, what of the night?" it was answered, with all the boldness of faith and prophecy, from those Alpine watchtowers, "The morning cometh."

Less than a year intervened between the commencement of the Lutheran and the commencement of the Zwinglian Reformation. Of the great political and religious drama of

the sixteenth century the first scene was laid in 1517, at Wittemberg, and the second a few months later at Zürich. The spirit moved over the face of the stagnant waters, and said, "Let there be light; and there was light." The breath of God swept the mist of ignorance and superstition from the lowlands, and, as it rolled back over the mountains, it lingered but for a moment on their tops, then vanished away.

Zwingle received not his doctrines from Luther; they were his own. He shone by no borrowed light. The Reformation of the North was distinct from that of the South. They had no connection with each other, except in spirit, while their authors lived. They were two parallel streams, rising from different sources, flowing down along the years, and watering the dry and desert places of the moral world. But the lapse of time has now united them; and they will go moving on, in gentle majesty, carrying our common humanity to Christian perfection and eternal truth. Luther and Zwingle had labored two years before they had heard of each other. And why should they have had intercourse and joined their labors? Each had his work to do, and his place in which to work. Christians are brothers, though they may never have known or seen each other. Where there are true laborers, there is Christ's vineyard; and all are his servants and disciples who bear nobly the burden and heat of the day. Zwingle differed from Luther in some points of doctrine, and warm controversies at length arose between them. Still, they were pressing towards the same great essential truths. Their union was higher than a mere theological union; it was a union of spirit in Christ and in God. They disagreed on the doctrine of the eucharist. Luther rejected the old Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, yet believed in a real presence, which he called consubstantiation. Zwingle considered the bread and wine as symbols only of Christ's body and blood, and to be received as memorials of his last communion with his disciples.

The differences between them we can account for, if we consider the different circumstances in which they were placed. Germany was a confederate empire, torn by the jealousies and contests of petty kings; Switzerland was a confederate republic, and was harassed by fewer discords. The former was forced, by military tyrants and rigid laws, to submit to religious and political despotism; the latter enjoy-

ed more freedom. Germany feared the least innovation, for she had much to lose ; Switzerland was bound in no iron bands. While Zwingle was attacking every doctrine of the Church, the Pope sent him dignities and compliments ; when Luther began even to question her superstitions, he hurled a thunderbolt. Luther was a conservative ; he never entirely freed himself from the shackles of Rome. Zwingle was a radical, and his favorable position strengthened the natural freedom of his character. The former clung with great tenacity to some remnants of the worst dogmas of the old Church ; the latter renounced nearly all at the beginning of his ministry. The people of the Alps had entered the great temple of Christian truth, and were kneeling before its altars, while the people of Germany halted and loitered in its vestibule. Zwingle was a full century in advance of Luther. The Swiss Reformation was nearer the word of God and absolute truth after its author had labored two years, than was the German Reformation at Luther's death. One left the images in the churches undisturbed ; the other pulled them down with his own hands, and cast them into the flames. One would retain all that was not expressly condemned by the Scriptures ; the other would abolish all that was not expressly taught by the Scriptures. One wished to purify the Established Church, and let it remain ; the other would go beyond the Dark Ages, and restore the Church of the Apostles in its primitive purity. Luther aimed a blow at the doctrine of indulgences and good works ; Zwingle would expunge the whole catalogue of Papal superstitions.

"They both saw that Romanism was the offspring of two systems, Judaism and Paganism, embodying their chief elements, pharisaism and idolatry. The former element had exalted ignorant, sinful man from earth to heaven, and made him proud. The latter element had degraded the infinite God of heaven down to earth, and given him the form of humanity on the canvas or in marble." It was the work of the German Reformer to restore man to a higher dignity, the dignity of childlike humility, and to teach that the Father does not require the service of the lips and hands, but

"doth prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure."

It was the work of the Swiss Reformer to show that God does not dwell in wood or stone, but "is a spirit, and must

be worshipped in spirit and in truth." Both Luther and Zwingle laid the foundation, but to Zwingle belongs the glory of the superstructure. The Reformation of Switzerland reached not all the truths of Christianity, but it was much more perfect than that of Germany. It strove for nothing in the past but for the truth of Christ and his apostles, and for every thing in the present and future which the light of knowledge and civilization could then reveal. Zwingle on his mountain-tops is like Moses on Sinai, receiving commandments directly from God; but Luther, like Aaron, not quite free from the old Egyptian idolatries, allows his chosen Israel, in their weakness, the molten calf.

Such were the characteristics of the two Reformations which were long since blended into one. And they give us an outline of the two master-spirits that conceived and produced them. But we are bound to portray Zwingle's character in clearer light. And this we can best do by comparing it with Luther's. Luther was passionate and boisterous: Zwingle was calm and courteous. One would drive men to faith and piety: the other would persuade them by love and charity. Luther was a mystic; yet his mysticism was free from dreaming sloth and insane infatuation: Zwingle was a rationalist; but his reason was strengthened by the sublime truths of the Gospel. Luther retained through life much of the Papal spirit; he was never more than half reformed: Zwingle was half Protestant from his childhood up. Luther had a rebellious nature and struggled hard with inward foes, and, like Paul of Tarsus, passed through fiery trials: but Zwingle, like St. John, full of faith and love, needed but to be called, to follow and repose on the bosom of Christ. Luther waded through the slough of despond, and lay in the dungeon of Giant Despair, and walked trembling through the dark valley to the celestial mountains: Zwingle wandered thither through green pastures and along by the side of still waters. The souls of both were alive to the charms of music. Luther played and chanted to drive tempting fiends back to their foul dwellings: but Zwingle strung his harp to draw down angels from their heavenly abode.

Zwingle endeavoured to free his countrymen from the shackles of Rome, and from the slavery of ignorance and political bondage. In our estimate of his labors, we must consider not only what he did for their religious interests, but what he did for their political and intellectual interests. It

was his mission to elevate his people to knowledge, virtue, and piety, and nobly did he labor to perform it. The Swiss were his children, and he gathered them up into his arms, and pressed them to his great heart, and showed them the way to wisdom and to God. He toiled earnestly and quietly, regarding neither the murmurs of priests nor the frowns nor compliments of the Pope. He saw the result of his labors in the happiness, sobriety, and moral refinement of those within his influence. In 1518, he stood nearly alone; two years after, thousands had embraced his doctrines, and become his true followers. Zwingle and his associates preached, and images and pictures of saints and martyrs vanished from the churches. The mass and confessional were abolished; cathedrals were left desolate; convents were broken up; and the revenues of Rome were stopped. A purer religion found a welcome in purer hearts. But still there were many like the silversmiths of Ephesus, who loved their ease and the wealth of Rome. And the priests and cardinals, like Demetrius of old, cried, "You, Zwinglians, spoil our trade, and we can make silver shrines no longer; it shall not be so; great is Diana of the Ephesians." But to the bold words and deeds of the Reformers the people answered, Amen!

Zwingle's last days were full of troubles. He was doomed to a tragic death. Difficulties arose between the Protestant and Catholic cantons lying side by side, and they gathered their armies to battle. Zwingle, too, must go; his presence alone will inspire his soldiers with courage. He lived in a fighting age, and perhaps had more of the spirit of Peter than of Christ. The combatants met on the plains of Cappel. The Protestants were defeated, and Zwingle was left mortally wounded on the field. Two soldiers found him after the battle, weltering in his blood, and, raising him up, asked him if he wished for a confessor. He could not speak; but sternly shook his head, thus answering, No. "Then commend yourself, in your heart, to the Virgin," said one; he again shook his head. "Die, then, base heretic!" said he, and thrust him through the heart. The hero Reformer crossed his hands on his breast; his eyes were turned upward towards heaven; and his calm, majestic countenance, lighting up with hope and love, seemed to say, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do; into thy hands I commend my spirit." And that true and noble soul quietly passed away.

F. M.

ART. III. — REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.*

It is not our purpose to consider at any length the past action of the Colonization Society, or the motives with which it has been sustained. It has been and still is regarded, on the one hand, with jealousy and dislike, as "disguised Abolitionism," as undermining the existence of slavery at the South, as raising questions that ought to be kept hushed, and exciting hopes among the colored race that can never be realized; and, on the other hand, with even greater hostility, as a covert design to strengthen the bonds of slavery, as disguising the true issue, deferring indefinitely the hope of freedom, and both perpetuating and justifying the prejudice that exists towards that unhappy race. Rather than attempt a reply to what may be said on either hand, we shall confine ourselves as nearly as possible to the statement of a few leading facts, showing, so far as they can be accurately known, the condition and prospects of Liberia, and giving, if we can, a fair and honest answer to the most important inquiries suggested.

During the past year, two republics have been proclaimed before the world, — one in Europe, one in Africa. One, after a popular outbreak, which resulted in the overthrow of an ancient monarchy, found itself at the mercy of eleven men, irresponsible to any body and appointed by nobody, with the tremendous task before them of arranging the conflicting interests of a great and highly civilized nation; every social problem being forced at once upon their attention, and the terribly practical question being put, how out of such materials, without any apparent common points of religious or political faith, to construct a better and completer fabric than had existed before, — a question, after granting all honor to the heroism and humanity of the men who have sought to meet it, as perilous now as ever. The other, an obscure and feeble colony, planted first by the charity of a distant land, passed by a natural process of growth from its state of tutelage to an independent existence; every troublesome ques-

* 1. *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa*, by A. ALEXANDER. Philadelphia: W. S. Martien. 1846. 8vo. pp. 603.

2. *Reports of the American Colonization Society, for the Years 1846, 1847, 1848*. Washington. 8vo. pp. 43, 43, 60.

3. *African Repository* (Washington, D. C.); — *Liberia Herald*, — and *Africa's Luminary*, (Monrovia, Liberia).

tion being answered as it were beforehand, — faith and loyalty already existing, through the Christian element inculcated from the first, — its institutions shaped and its fundamental principles accurately determined, — a community already not only self-supporting, but forming a refuge and fixed point in a vast continent of ignorance, barbarism, and slavery. Each is an experiment ; and each is furnishing, before the world, the answer to a problem of equal interest for our century.

Liberia is a settlement on the West-African coast, consisting of about five thousand free blacks and liberated or recaptured slaves, together with nearly fifteen times this number of natives, who have voluntarily sought the shelter of its laws and the benefits of its schools and churches.* Its territory lies about three hundred miles along the coast, between the fourth and seventh degrees of north latitude, and extends forty-five miles into the interior. Its climate and productions are similar to those of other tropical regions ; its soil is exceedingly fertile, and its advantages for emigrants, on the score of health and comfort, are about the same, so far as we can judge, with those of the newly settled regions of our West and Southwest. It was declared an independent republic July 26, 1847, and has therefore just completed its first year of separate existence. Its constitution is similar in its general features to that of the United States ; many parts of it being a careful transcript from that. All its citizens are of African descent ; and its President, J. J. Roberts, was one of a respectable family of free blacks, who emigrated from Virginia in 1829. Two newspapers are published in Monrovia, one being a religious or missionary paper, and the editors of both being colored men. Being in some sense a missionary station, the religious element is very conspicuous in the character of the republic, distinguishing it very widely from most commercial settlements. All the leading men are marked by an apparently sincere and earnest profession of religious principle ; the Lord's day is rigidly observed ; intemperance and immorality are said to be comparatively rare ; and a public school system makes universal education one of the most prominent features of the young commonwealth.

* These last seem to be a class of probationary citizens, or residents, like the Roman "plebs." Only a small proportion of them as yet have the full rights of citizenship.

The plan of colonizing Africa was first suggested as early as 1776, by Rev. Dr. Hopkins.* He had been the owner of a slave, whom he sold before going to Newport ; and the purchase-money he devoted to the education of colored men, to be sent as teachers and missionaries to Africa. Sierra Leone was founded in 1787, under the auspices of Granville Sharpe, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others, for the kindred object of the protection and instruction of recaptured slaves, especially of a few who in England had found only suffering and degradation. The idea of a colony of free blacks, either in the Northwest Territory or in Africa, was often discussed by Jefferson, and others of our leading statesmen, in the interval from 1801 to 1816 ; and on the 1st of January, 1817, the American Colonization Society was formed. Men of devoted zeal, Rev. S. J. Mills, S. Bacon, and others, undertook the arduous task of breaking the ground. Taking Sierra Leone as a starting-point, they explored painfully the neighbouring region, which had been to some extent depopulated, probably by wars among the native tribes fomented by the slave-trade. While statesmen thought chiefly how by these means they might remove what they regarded as an anomalous and dangerous element of society in America, it was regarded by these men as a sacred mission of Christian benevolence to Africa ; and there is no more touching chapter in the history of the missionary enterprise than the simple record of the toil in which they freely sacrificed both health and life.

The first company of emigrants, consisting of eighty-nine, sailed from New York in February, 1821, and resided till the following year at Sierra Leone. Land was purchased of the native chiefs by the mediation of Captain Stockton of the U. S. Navy, the jealousies arising among them were happily overcome by his prudence and decision, and on the 25th of April, 1822, the American flag floated on Cape Mesurado. Mr. Ashmun arrived in August, and assumed the agency ; and the needful preliminary steps of settlement were taken under his direction. But in the few following months, while the little company was nearly disabled by heavy rains and sickness, watching and excessive toil, while his wife was dying in a miserable hut, and he suffering extremely from fever, the neighbouring tribes were excited by the slavers of the coast to open hostility ; and a plan was formed to extirpate the

* Alexander's History, p. 49.

colony, or drive it by force from the purchase. It was saved only by the vigilance and intrepidity of Mr. Ashmun, and at the cost of two fierce battles with the natives, who were supplied with fire-arms by the traders. This was in the months of November and December, 1822. An English ship of war, coming at this crisis, befriended the exhausted colonists, in which deed of charity an officer and twelve men perished from exposure and disease ; and receiving no more assaults, the settlement continued to increase steadily and peaceably. A code of regulations was drawn up in 1824 by Mr. Ashmun, assisted by Rev. R. R. Gurley ; and under the care of successive agents, Liberia gradually assumed a position of importance, and came to attract considerable attention. Its flag gave shelter to those of the native tribes that sought it ; and the only other serious hostilities in which it was involved were in 1839, when a tribe living under its protection was fiercely assaulted by a party of cannibals and savages from the interior, and for a few days it was again necessary for the colony to maintain itself by arms. A small settlement, meanwhile, of emigrants who had been sent from Philadelphia in 1833, and were pledged to unconditional peace, was attacked and near being crushed by the natives, who spared only two houses, where they suspected there were weapons ; but being taken under shelter of the main colony, it was afterwards treated with respect ; and the slave-traffic was presently abandoned by the chief whom the traders had instigated to the attack.

In the course of time, as the colony became well established, and its productions and commerce were augmented, it excited the jealousy of English coast-traders, lest it should interfere with their inland barter ; and they several times attempted to land goods on its territory in defiance of its laws, even seizing a loaded vessel in reprisal for certain customs that had been collected by the colonial government. Redress could not be had, except on conditions hard and ruinous ; and a correspondence ensued between the British minister and our government at Washington, which resulted in a declaration on our part, that Liberia was not a recognized dependency, nor under the protection, of the United States, and so could only appeal to the generosity of other nations to respect its feebleness. This concession gave such advantage to the English traders, and so exposed the colony to intrusion and interference, that it found itself at length compelled to declare its independence, and to appeal as a sovereign state to other nations of the earth.

Meanwhile its affairs, at first administered through an agent appointed by the Colonization Society at home, had come to be more and more intrusted to its own control. A colonial legislature was elected by the people ; subordinate offices were held by them ; and finally, the agent (having the style of Governor) was for several years one of the colonists themselves, the present President Roberts. His messages and other state papers had attracted much attention for the decision of character and practical talent displayed in them ; and besides, he commanded the very general respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens. Under these circumstances, and with these habits of self-government already formed, the colony declared its independence in the summer of 1847, and a constitution was adopted, as has been already noticed.

During these thirty years of its existence, the parent Society met with very various success at home. For some years it was regarded with comparative favor by leading men in all parts of the country, as furnishing a common ground of benevolent action, where all could join ; and on the whole, in spite of many obstacles and discouragements, (partly from the character of the country and climate, partly from the peculiar nature of the materials to be employed,) its enterprise might be said to be favored and prosperous, if compared with the early American colonies, or with similar attempts elsewhere. But, from the causes we alluded to at the commencement, it presently lost many of its best supporters. First a Southern, and then a Northern jealousy was raised ; and from 1830 to 1840, the colonization scheme encountered every obstacle. This interruption of public favor, however injurious on other accounts, had yet the good effect of throwing the colony back on its own resources, and preventing a dangerously rapid and demoralizing growth, during the critical period of its formation. And within the last few years, partly from weariness among many at the long strife between North and South on the high question of the right and wrong of slavery, partly from its new and more imposing attitude as a sovereign state, it has begun to win back the attention that had been diverted, and to reassert more boldly the only pretension it ever made, as an experiment, now claiming a very fair measure of success, to test the capacity and establish the equal liberty of the African race.

This little settlement is an experiment, which, by its final

success or failure, will probably do more than any other one thing to determine the future condition and prospects of that race in our country ; because it is answering, apparently in the fairest and most unequivocal manner, the fundamental question, — the turning-point of the whole problem. The littleness of the colony (now an independent state) is no more a ground of cavil than the utter failure of the first few efforts to colonize America. In point of numbers, strength, health, costliness, and tranquillity, it compares, on the whole, very favorably with the New England settlements, when a quarter of a century old. Its glaring inadequacy, just now, to meet the whole fact of slavery in America, counting its three millions, or in Africa, counting its thirty millions, is no more reason against its fitness to do what it really undertakes, than the imperfect success of every colonial enterprise, even now, when matched against the gigantic mass of European pauperism. Its real merit is, that it opens a new field of hope and enterprise for the African race. And even admitting the most extravagant claim ever made for the colonization scheme, as the nucleus or programme of what may be hereafter a great national undertaking to remove every trace of slavery from our borders, it is not quite as fantastic as many persons have supposed. The cost of the Mexican war (taking the lowest estimate, — the last we have seen doubles it) would have been abundantly sufficient for transporting the whole colored population of this country, bond and free, (taking the highest estimate of numbers and cost,) to the African coast, and giving them a half-year's maintenance there. The whole outlay for colonization hitherto has been about equal to that of the war for two days, — not much more than that of the momentary relief we gave to the Irish during last year's famine. A great nation, if it chooses, can do great things.*

A more serious question in many minds is that which con-

* The entire cost of the colonization enterprise from the commencement may be rated at \$ 750,000. The lowest estimate of the expenses of the war (including incidentals) that we have seen is \$ 200,000,000 ; the highest, \$ 395,000,000. The total amount contributed in 1847 for the relief of the Irish, besides an equal or greater amount sent by the Irish in this country, (according to the incomplete estimate of the *American Almanac*,) was \$ 591,313.29. The expense incurred by each emigrant to Liberia " may be set down at \$ 50. This includes outfit, passage-money, and provisions on the voyage, a house to live in, provisions, medicine and medical attendance, and nursing when they are sick, for six months, and more or less aid, in various other ways, in establishing them comfortably, and in a condition thenceforth to take care of themselves." See Report for 1848.

templates hostilities with the African tribes. As must have been already observed, these are in all probability for ever at an end. Annexation is very easy, extermination never thought of. It has been asked, — “What do you say to the fact, that all the safety the colonists have they owe to standing armies and fortifications, and their missionary influence consists in shooting a native now and then?” Half this question has already answered itself, — the “fact” being shown to be no fact. The other half is answered by simply saying, that Liberia, as a nation, never claimed to be exempt from the usual contingencies of nations, or professed to do without an “armed police.”* The experiment of non-resistance was tried once on that coast, and the present colonists do not choose the hazard of repeating it. The details of the fighting that (with a solitary exception) has accompanied the infancy of every settlement in a barbarous region must always be repulsive; and most nations prefer to cover this portion of their history with a decent drapery of obscure allusions, while most writers have the good taste to leave them in the background as much as possible. Our pious ancestors, like Homer, had no such scruple; and we well remember the shuddering and heathenish triumph with which we used to read, in the devout doggerels of the “*Historical Collections*,” of the burning of the Pequods, or the massacres in King Philip’s war. And though our own nerves might probably be too sensitive to let us engage willingly in actual fighting, even for self-defence, still, while we claim for ourselves the protection of any authority which rests ultimately on force, (whether latent or active,) we will not stultify ourselves by abusing those who stand ready, in case of need, to wield it. It may be an open question, whether our life, or the existence of a colony or infant state, be worth defending; but that granted, all absolute objection is foreclosed on our part to the act of war. If the alternative be fairly put, the price must be fairly paid.

Omitting any further notice of these preliminary matters, we come directly to the main point, — the condition of the African race in this country, as likely to be affected by the

* The message of President Roberts to the Liberian Congress strongly urges the necessity of a well organized and disciplined militia; and especially of an armed vessel, strong enough to keep slavers off the coast.

colonization enterprise. Four considerations will at once suggest themselves, marking the outline of that great topic as a whole ; and all should be kept in mind, when attending to any single question that may rise out of either one of them. These are, the awakened moral feeling of the civilized world on the subject of slavery, together with the singular attention everywhere bestowed on the condition of the colored race ; the enormous increase and aggravated misery of the foreign slave-trade, under every effort made to suppress it, — unless within the last year or two, which are said on good authority to form an exception, and this in a great degree owing to the colonizing of the coast ; the slow, yet steady, retreat of the slave population of this country towards the Southwest, almost marking the exact period at which the border States will become free, while it multiplies in the extreme South to a most startling extent ; and the rapid accumulation, particularly in the Western States, of a colored population nominally free, but depressed often to an extreme degree of hardship, its disabilities rather increasing than diminished, till it threatens to become that greatest moral and social peril, a numerous degraded and alien caste, almost defenceless before the jealousy and easily roused hostility of the stronger race.

We must presume that our readers have all the information needful to establish these positions. Still, it may not be amiss to state briefly the facts on which the last two assertions are made. By a comparison of statistics,* it will appear that the slave population of the three northeastern Slave States (including the District of Columbia) was diminished about thirty-six thousand, or at the rate of ten a day, between the years 1830 and 1840 ; while in the three southwestern States it increased in the same period about three hundred and twenty thousand. The diminution is doubtless owing, in great part, to the internal slave-trade, and in part to escapes ; but, in addition, a work of gradual voluntary emancipation, to an uncertain extent, and affected by various causes, is steadily going on. The frequent purchases for liberation in this region are a fact well known.

In reference to the other assertion, it would be interesting to trace the operation of general causes, which indicate that the free colored population of this country are a “ wandering

* American Almanac for 1848, p. 214.

tribe," shifting their ground as steadily and constantly as a ship at sea that takes no account of the undertow, — veering vaguely towards the vague Southwest, until some permanent home shall be found for them on this or the other continent. A comparison of statistics, apparently made with care,* establishes the fact, that, notwithstanding the constant accessions to the colored population of the northern Free States, by manumission or voluntary emigration, and notwithstanding the existence there of much active philanthropy in its behalf, it yet not much more than half keeps pace (in New England only in the proportion of one fourth) with the natural rate of its own increase without such aid. Climate, competition, and oppressive legislation (growing, on the whole, more severe instead of milder, — an extraordinary anomaly in the history of modern jurisprudence) are steadily driving it westward, — "ever drifting, drifting, drifting," towards the vast and undefined Southwest. The ultimate result, setting aside the frightful issue of extermination, which some anticipate, seems likely to be, either an *euthanasia* of slavery, in the establishment of a free African commonwealth in a remote district of Mexico, said to be every way suited to that purpose, and already occupied by that race, or else the spontaneous adoption, by the free colored people, of some plan akin to this of colonization, by which they may be independently settled elsewhere. We disregard, as belonging in part to popular prejudice, the usual statements as to their character and condition, and also omit those considerations of morals and humanity, which always, to a greater or less degree, modify the operation of general laws, such as we have now presented it; our immediate object being only to obtain the broadest statement of fact that may indicate the practical bearing of the main question. We take the facts as we find them; being responsible, not for them, but for the use we make of them.

Let us see now how this question has been answered by the Africans for themselves. We shall accept no testimony on the subject, except as to necessary statistics, from any who may be supposed to have the prejudices of another race or class. This, we conceive, is the only legitimate and proper way to approach the topic we have in view.

From the Declaration of Independence of Liberia we

* African Repository for June, 1848.

cite the following passages. They contain what to all appearance is a perfectly fair and authentic statement, not made in a patronizing tone by self-styled "friends of the blacks," but in a frank and manly tone, by the willing testimony of those whose personal experience it claims to be.*

"We, the people of the Republic of Liberia, were originally inhabitants of the United States of North America. In some parts of that country, we were debarred by law from all the rights and privileges of men; in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down. We were everywhere shut out from all civil office; we were excluded from all participation in the government; we were taxed without our consent; we were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection; we were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

"Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil. Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

"Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation; but an asylum from the most grinding oppression. In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties which impart to man his dignity; to evince to all who despise, ridicule, and oppress our race, that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man. We were animated with the hope that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go, to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue, and religion. Thus far, our highest hopes have been realized.

"Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen; our numerous and well-attended schools attest our efforts for the improvement of our children; our churches, everywhere to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and our acknowledgment of Divine Providence; the native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God,

* Report of American Colonization Society for 1848, p. 46.

declares that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth ; while upon that curse of curses, the slave-trade, a deadly blight has fallen, as far as our influence extends.

"Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion, in the name of the great God, our common Creator and our common Judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly consideration to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities."

We make no apology for giving so long a citation from this interesting document, because it is testimony of precisely that nature which we desire, and illustrates one by one the whole series of facts which we have before alluded to. We introduce, in addition, a few provisions of the Constitution, all going to the further illustration of the same points, as apprehended and acted on by these people in a free community.

"There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly." — Art. I. § 4.

"No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property, or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land." — Art. I. § 8.

"The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic." — Art. V. § 13.

"The improvement of the native tribes, and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry, being a cherished object of this government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same ; and the legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes, by the appropriation of money." — Art. V. § 15.

Now we are very far from meaning to imply that the confident and even triumphant tone prevailing in most of this language is universal. Liberia forms no exception, doubtless, to what we find in every recent settlement. We hear

incidentally of precisely the same regrets expressed by some of these colonists, that our own ancestors (and especially their wives) may be supposed to have felt on coming to America, or that we hear now among our Irish emigrants, and even among those who go from dear New England a few hundred miles towards the West or South, — the same fond reminiscence of the homes left behind, the same aggravating contrasts, the same dread of change, sickness, or loss of what was precious in “the old country.” Emigration is, doubtless, no holiday or dainty work. It would not be in the human heart, not to feel even bitterly such a change as this. And for the first generation, perhaps, the loss of comfort very nearly outweighs the gain of hope and energy.*

Still, the work is of a sort that always must be done. And the proper answer to this complaining is, first, that the enterprising man, crowded and depressed, seeks instinctively a broader field of action, and, taking his family with him, gives the needful character of decision and energy to the growing community, — to be followed afterwards by the more timid and weak; and next, that, by the appointment of Providence, these families, which go from sympathy or by a sort of constraint at first, are made to labor, not for their own sake, but for the generations coming after. All that we have heard (doubtless exaggerated) of the discomforts of this African colony does not make a parallel for the single case of Lady Arbella Johnson; it is almost matched by some family histories that illustrate the still fresh colonizing of the West, and is far outweighed by the daily distress of Irish immigrants. Still, America is a land of hope, and Africa may be. Still the nations, barbarous or civilized, go on steadily to “replenish the earth, and subdue it”; and no one murmurs at the great decree of Providence.

The real question is, Are these transient physical disadvantages on the whole overbalanced by the moral gain? Here, again, we take the testimony of the colonists themselves.† Without giving any description of the celebration of the

* The principal physician of Liberia, Dr. Lugenbeel, says, — “The physical systems of the second generation will be as well adapted to this climate as the aborigines are.”

† The editor of *Africa's Luminary*, a colored man, says, — “We need envy no man or nation of men on earth. *We do not envy them now.*” And then follows a series of statements on the “practical demonstrations already established by the colony.” See Report for 1846.

twenty-fourth of August, on occasion of the elevation of the Liberian republican flag, (very much a transcript of like festivities in America, exhibiting, too, the modern practice of total abstinence from liquors,) we copy, as decidedly the best feature of the day, a part of one of the hymns written for the occasion.

“ See Mesurado’s height
Illumed with new-born light!
Lo ! the lone star !*
Now it ascends the skies,
Lo, the deep darkness flies,
While new-born glories rise
And shine afar.

“ Shine, life-creating ray, —
Proclaim approaching day ;
Throw wide thy blaze !
Lo ! savage Hottentot,
Benjamin from his cot,
And nations long forgot,
Astonished gaze.

“ Shout the loud jubilee !
Afric once more is free, —
Break forth with joy !
.

“ Star in the East, shine forth,
Proclaim a nation’s birth !
Ye nations, hear !
This is our natal day ;
And we our homage pay, —
To Thee, O Lord, we pray, —
Lord, hear our prayer !”

It has probably been apparent, from the specimens of Liberian literature already given, and would be still more so, if we should multiply quotations, that it shows more signs of imitation, and reliance on other minds, than of adventurous and independent intellect. The quality of imitation, observable generally in the race, (or perhaps the old sentiment and habit of dependence,) is seen alike in the folds of their flag,

* The Liberian flag is similar to that of the United States; but with eleven stripes and a single star. The national motto is, “The love of liberty brought us here.”

the forms of their constitution, and the received dogmas of their theology. Their strict observance of the Sabbath has been already noticed. They implicitly believe themselves to be children of Ham, and to have been under the curse pronounced on his descendants, which is just beginning to be removed. All this is part of the lesson that has been taught them, and so becomes curiously implicated with the moral influence which is their great safeguard and restraint. We have heard it suggested, that the "theocracy" of certain sects will prevent the colony from ever having a native vigor of its own. But it seems much easier to show, that an element of very positive religious faith, and the conviction of a religious mission in occupying that soil, are absolutely indispensable to give a reasonable hope of harmony, and a conservative principle in the social fabric. It is far more important just now, that there should be religious men among the colonists, than that there should be depth of speculation, or original discoveries in thought. The direction given to their minds, so far as indicated, towards schools and churches, the arts of life, and civilizing action on the native tribes, is the very safest that could be given. It is certainly the point of most advantageous comparison with other lands.

It has occurred to us, that possibly there may be persons of such whimsical and wayward philanthropy, as to be disappointed at the signs of prosperity in this infant state ; and that they might perhaps be relieved to be told of some calamity or adverse thing by way of contrast. But we are happy to have no such solace to offer them. Perhaps it is no more than fair to say, that the accounts of some professed "eye-witnesses" are totally irreconcilable with others ; and hence, rather than undertake to judge of the motives from which stories so flatly contradicting each other have been told, we have given no testimony but what was written on the spot by the citizens themselves. We have only to add, in reference to this point, that, by the latest information received, "Monrovia was rapidly improving" ; and that President Roberts is now proceeding on a commission to the several governments of the chief commercial nations, to procure an acknowledgment from them of the independence and commercial rights of the Republic. "Since the little ship of state was launched," writes Dr. Lugenbeel, "she has been gliding along smoothly and quietly."

In the remarks we have made, we have endeavoured to keep

clear of every vexed and exciting topic of difference ; and to present simply those facts, vouched on the best authority, which are most important for taking a just and broad view of the subject. Far more is at issue in this experiment than the good faith of the colonizationists, or the good judgment shown in selecting the spot where the experiment must be made. The existence and prosperity of this African republic are most directly interesting as bearing on the condition of free people of color in America. For their shelter and the full vindication of their rights it was first designed. The elements of its growth must come mainly from them ; and unless it succeed in attracting their attention, and a good degree of confidence among them, its progress must be slow and fluctuating. Accordingly, we have exhibited it with particular reference to them. But it has other bearings, though less direct, not less important ; and of these we must say a few words, in conclusion. We allude to its connection with the Christian civilization of Africa, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the eventual emancipation of the slaves in our Southern States. Touching these three points, we shall speak as briefly as possible.

As to the first, we take (at second hand), as most explicit, the testimony of President Roberts.* He reports, "that, in a tour of more than two hundred miles into the interior of Africa, he found manifest traces of colonial influence, extending through the entire distance ; that there were individuals in every place where he stopped who could speak the English language ; that the chiefs of the different tribes through which he passed evinced the utmost eagerness to have schools established among them, in which their children might be taught the knowledge of the arts of civilization and the truths of the Christian religion ; and that the 'head men' offered to erect buildings and appropriate lands for the support of these institutions." "It is well known, also," says the writer from whom we have borrowed this testimony, "that the sons of chiefs, and of other distinguished natives, have been sent a distance of three or four hundred miles from the interior into the colony, to be educated." A missionary tract, written by Rev. J. L. Wilson, testifies to the same kindliness of disposition, and readiness to receive instruction, shown by the native tribes, among whom he has "travelled

* *African Repository*, Nov., 1847.

many thousands of miles, in times of peace and in times of war"; while he "never thought it necessary to furnish himself with a single implement of defence, nor was he ever placed in circumstances where there would have been any just cause for using such weapon, even if he had been supplied." From the Constitution of Liberia we have already cited passages which show how generously this willingness on the part of the natives has been met; for by a liberal provision of that document, perhaps without a parallel in any similar public act, the feeble settlement lays down, as a great principle of legislation, second only to the paramount claim of self-preservation, and as the most Christian policy, too, of national defence, the duty of the government to shelter and instruct, at its own pains and cost, the ignorant barbarians of the neighbourhood. A mission so clearly seen and deliberately accepted cannot fail, in hands however feeble, of resulting in great good. It is still thought necessary by many that white men should lead the way, since their presence commands a peculiar and prescriptive respect; but the more enlightened blacks, removing thither, claim even jealously the bulk of the work as their own special and appointed task. In one case, there has been dissension between the colony and the missionary station of the Board, arising, we understand, from the wish of the latter to be exempt from the colonial tariff-laws, while occupying the territory. This station was abandoned; but since then, the Episcopal mission "have openly acknowledged that they can only act in connection with the colonies."

As we have already shown, the slave-trade, directly or indirectly, has been the sole cause of interruption to this generous and friendly intercourse. In this view, the hostilities with the natives may be considered as an act of alliance with the armaments by which England and America are endeavouring to intercept that horrible traffic. It seems pretty well established, that the colony has been much the most effective party to this alliance, though still needing the coöperation of the others. Wherever it puts its foot, the slave-trade is extirpated, as thoroughly as dry prairie-grass is burned in autumn. Its territory embraces what was once the chief haunt of that iniquity. One station after another has been bought, and rescued for ever from the curse of slavery. "Six small tracts" in its line of coast are beyond its jurisdiction; and here the traffic flourishes as of old. Ships of war, it is said,

often hover about such a spot for weeks ; then, if they withdraw from sight, " the slaver seizes his chance, dashes in, takes on board his cargo, and in less than a night is out of danger." Half the cost of maintaining the vessels these few weeks or days would have purchased the port for the colony, and purged it for ever. Great Britain, if the estimates furnished us are correct, spent for this service alone, in a single year (1847), to say nothing of the hazard to life and health of officers and crews, four times the cost of the whole colonization enterprise from its commencement. Some of the most interesting items of information from Liberia relate to the purchase of successive slave-stations, — a work of unwearied ambition to the Republic.* The details of this traffic for the last few years need not be enlarged upon. It is enough to say, that it is estimated to have grown to more than six times what it was sixty years ago ; that in 1840, five hundred thousand were reckoned to be its victims ; and that the assertion has been distinctly made, that no efforts on the part of armed squadrons will prevent the full complement of slaves being brought into the markets of Brazil and Cuba ; the only real effect of their vigilance being the sacrifice of a vast additional number of lives, through the frightful suffering incurred in consequence of the smaller, swifter vessels employed in a hazardous, because contraband, trade.† On the other hand, the effect of the colony is twofold : it closes the traffic, by its successive purchases of territory ; and by its influence on the native tribes, it instils a detestation of it, and checks the barbarous wars by which the supply of victims for that coast was formerly obtained. The only effectual safeguard is to belt the entire coast with a girdle of " free territory."‡

* The following is an extract from a notification by President Roberts to a noted slave-trader, after the purchase of his station, dated December 22, 1847 :— " I do hereby require you, in the name of the government of Liberia, to discontinue, on the receipt of this letter, the further traffic in slaves, under the penalty of having your establishment removed by force from the territory. Should this notice be disregarded, the consequences will be upon your own shoulders." See *Repository* for April and June, 1848.

† " With respect to slavery and its cure," says Martin Farquhar Tupper, " it seems to me, unless I am deceived by fair appearances, that your society has ' hit the blot.' We, with the best intentions, have blundered the whole business ; we have ruined our West Indies by unprepared emancipation, and waste millions annually on the absurdity of attempting to blockade a continent ; moreover, through our ill-judged efforts, the horrors of the passage are increased tenfold, and poor Africa groans under the additional burdens laid on her by the dull zeal of her would-be liberator, England."

‡ It was during the season of comparative neglect, (from 1830 to 1840,)

In approaching the final point of our survey, we feel strongly the magnitude of the difficulties and perplexities which beset it on every side. At the present stage of public opinion on this subject, it is not to be hoped that any one solution of even a part of the momentous problem will be generally accepted or understood. And from the peculiar attitude in which the colonization enterprise has stood towards the several aspects of the main question and the several phases of the public mind, we can hardly expect but that bitter prejudice and wilful misunderstanding on either hand will prevent the due appreciation of its rightful claim and work. Without entering fully into the discussion of so great a matter, we submit a few considerations which certainly ought to have weight. Our responsibility in this regard is something more than to "clear our skirts of the iniquity." If we raise our voice at all, we are bound by every obligation, as Christian citizens, to seek some clear, definite, well-established, and practical view of truth and duty.

At the outset, the following points should be kept clearly in view, taken for granted, and never abandoned:—that slavery must eventually and completely come to an end; that every man must look forward to nothing less than this result, and be preparing for its inevitable approach; and that every step must be steadily taken, and never one retraced, which may lead on the peaceful process, slow, but sure, by which that consummation shall be brought about. These postulates give us the point of view we want.

Now absolutely the only sure reliance that can be had, in reference to the great work of ultimate emancipation, is on the conscience and humanity of those who sustain the direct responsibility. Whatever touches these rightly secures one

and while the colony was in its lowest condition of prosperity and morals, that suspicions rested on some of the colonists, of connivance at the slave-trade of the vicinity. It may be true that "there was more or less smuggling of slavers' goods, selling of tobacco, etc.," to them, in defiance of the colonial law; but it was "all carried on clandestinely and under cover," so that "no transaction of the kind could be traced out and proved." The administration at that time was wanting in vigor; but we feel authorized, from private assurances of the highest authority, to deny that the colony as such was ever more implicated in the traffic than the government of Great Britain or the United States is at this moment. Its most questionable proceeding, indeed, was the violent breaking up of a slave-factory on the coast, about the year 1829, in which the head of the establishment was killed. As to charges on individuals, some of them of the most aggravated nature, it is enough to say that they involve a question of veracity between the parties, which will probably be determined (if it has not been already) before a different tribunal.

degree of success. Whatever does not, however well meant, is worse than thrown away. And it is not only the theory, but the ascertained and established fact, that the existence of the colony, when it stood highest in public favor, did very considerably promote and multiply voluntary manumissions of slaves. Not only were they liberated on condition of going to Liberia, but the very circumstance of thus opening a new field of hope, and testing by fair experiment the disputed capacity of the race, did very sensibly affect the relative statistics of the free black and slave population of this country, raising the rate of increase of the former by about one fifth.* It would be grossly unjust to call in question the motives with which these manumissions have been made; and equally unjust to set aside the circumstance, that there are always on hand offers of persons far exceeding the means provided for their transportation. The extent of emancipation by this means is bounded only by the limits of the available funds of the Colonization Society. And it is a fact more creditable to those who have liberated their slaves for this purpose than to the general sentiment of our country towards the race, that the "freedmen," as a general rule, are far better citizens and subjects of the African republic than the "freemen" have proved as yet. The discipline of steady labor contributes, with the privilege of newly gotten liberty, to make them the most valuable element of the population. And as a very large portion of the colored race in America have a good degree of education, and almost all some practical acquaintance with the arts of life, it seems highly desirable, on every account, to enlarge this channel of direct influence on the work of emancipation.

But, finally, it is the indirect influence on which the greatest reliance is to be placed. For here is an explicit and intelligible reply to the "previous question," on a right answer to which absolutely every thing depends. It cannot be disguised, that the general impression prevailing as to the issue of the sudden emancipation in Hayti, and even in the other West India islands — a point involved in singular contradiction and obscurity — constitutes the perpetual defence set up for timid and uncertain counsels on this great practical topic. On the other hand, let any one consider the moral

* See Repository for June, 1848, p. 178. The rate has declined again, since 1830.

effect of this experiment, if reasonably successful. However small a proportion of the colored race may actually remove to Africa, yet the existence there of a free and prosperous commonwealth made up of them must do more than any thing to insure a condition of comparative immunity and justice to those who are left behind. New relations and associations of thought become established. The badge of dependence is taken off. The voice of hope must go back and forth across the waters. And the light of liberty will be thrown westwardly from Africa upon our shore, just as it has been thrown hence to Europe, and will bring an equal blessing to the Old World and the New.

J. H. A.

ART. IV. — CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.*

To whatever quarter we look for omens, it is very obvious that Christianity is to concern itself as never before with that great social problem of our age, — the relation between man and wealth. This problem, with the interests depending upon it, has been the cause of the tremendous agitations that have convulsed the kingdoms of Europe during the present year, and has inspired the ablest works of the strong minds of our day. Theologian and political economist, philanthropist and moral philosopher, preacher, pamphleteer, editor, stump-speaker, — all classes of writers and orators are eager to give their statement of prevalent social evils, and not a few of them profess to have found the universal panacea.

* 1. *Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe, depuis les Anciens jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par M. BLANQUI, Aîné. Deuxième Édition. Paris. 1842. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 468, 494.

2. *On the Christian and Economic Polity of a Nation, more especially with Reference to its Large Towns.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. and LL. D. Glasgow. 3 vols. 12mo. pp. 431, 395, 444.

3. *Political Economy and the Philosophy of Government; a Series of Essays selected from the Works of M. DE SISMONDI. With an Historical Notice of his Life and Writings.* By M. MIGNET. From the French. London. 1847. 8vo. pp. 459.

4. *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. 1848. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi., 593, xv., 549.

5. *The True Organization of the New Church, as indicated in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and demonstrated by Charles Fourier.* New York. 1848. 12mo. pp. 454.

Of the prominent books bearing upon the socialism of our time, we have selected for our guidance a few that seem to us the best representatives of leading classes. Blanqui, the elder, — not the younger, — has written, with great industry, point, and brilliancy, the history of political economy from the days of the ancient Greeks to our own time. The want of an examination of the Egyptian and, above all, of the Jewish political economy leaves a serious defect in the work. An acute and comprehensive survey of the economic bearings of the Mosaic polity, from so able a pen, would have possessed great value and interest. The *litterati* of France, however, have never been remarkable for their Biblical lore. Still, he who should translate these volumes would render a great service to English literature, and present a view of the history of nations equally novel, attractive, and important. Blanqui's work prepares the way for the study of the wants of our own age, alike by the experience which he brings to us from the past, and by the clearness with which he traces to their source the great social evils, the overgrown wealth and squalid pauperism, that afflict the nineteenth century. Sismondi is fitly read in connection with him. With the vast knowledge gathered from his historical studies, and with a spirit well worthy of commendation, he portrays the more alarming features of our civilization; and without venturing to prescribe any remedy, he startles us by his revelation of the results of monopoly and competition in grinding down the many, and forcing the smaller farmer and manufacturer to become the dependent hirelings of the capitalist. The three other authors offer their own favorite remedies for the miseries which, much in the spirit of the historians already named, they believe to exist. The English political economist, the Scotch Presbyterian, and the American associationist fitly represent the leading views that earnest men take of the proper cure of pressing social ills. We will speak of their principles more fully, after having glanced at some of the prominent aspects of our civilization.

What is the most conspicuous feature of our age, as compared with the leading epochs of history? Evidently it is not the love of the beautiful arts, as in Athens, nor military glory, as in Rome, nor the sway of the priesthood, as in the Middle Ages, nor the rule of the predestinarian dogma, as in Puritan times. The leading men of those countries or ages would marvel much at the manners, customs, and opinions of

our nineteenth century. Fancy Pericles or Julius Cesar, St. Bernard or Calvin, to be set down in Paris or Lyons, London or Manchester, New York or Boston, — what would their criticism be? Their admiration would hardly keep pace with their amazement, as they scrutinized the spirit of our day. The Athenian would find manufactories and steam-engines far more conspicuous than temples or statues; the Roman would be startled at the subordination of war to finance, and the power of bankers and political economists over military heroes; the ghostly monk would be astonished at the prevalence of luxury among the devotees of Christendom, and the talk of tariffs and corn-laws rather than of monastic orders and Papal bulls; the Puritan would be scandalized at the little apparent acknowledgment of Divine decrees, the dependence of men upon second causes, and their disposition to guard against the ills of life by lightning-rods and insurance-tables instead of fasting and prayer.

Our age is certainly peculiar. Wherein does its peculiarity consist? To say that it differs altogether from other ages would be foolish, for man always possesses the same essential characteristics, and these will always show themselves in one form or another. The fine arts, war, priestcraft, Puritanism, all exist now-a-days, and are held in much honor, even in the century so given to the worship of gold. In the several epochs of their ascendancy, the power of wealth was felt always far more than was openly acknowledged. The Athenian and the Roman, who despised the producing classes of men, loved the wealth extorted from their hard labor, and Greece and Rome fell victims to their own rapacity, in their fall verifying the fable, and finding that by their oppression of the working-men they had killed the goose that laid the golden egg. The monk had no objection to church tithes and the amassing of church plate and jewels, nay, did not scruple to wring gold from the heathen by the crusader's sword. The Puritan, in spite of his theological fatalism, has never shown any lack of free-will or self-reliance in the pursuit of gain. The most conspicuous feature of our civilization, however, is the pursuit of wealth in a new and remarkable manner. Its chief agencies are the natural sciences and industrial arts, its ruling spirit is intense competition, its prominent danger is the growth of an industrial feudalism, equally to be deprecated in its bearing upon the affluent few and the impoverished many.

The beautiful arts are enlisted more in the service of private luxury than of devout faith or earnest patriotism. Wars are undertaken, not so much for conquest or proselytism as for opening lucrative markets or sustaining profitable commerce. Men read more anxiously the price-current than the proceedings of church councils. The merchant often lords it over the priest, and the Catholic missionary carries merchandise with his missals to heathen lands. Our New England has changed signally since the days of the Puritans. What would the Puritan autocrat, John Cotton, say, if restored now to the city founded by his companions? How would the relative position of the clergy and the merchants in the nineteenth century compare with what it was in the seventeenth? Who are the men that now lead public opinion?

Evidently the places that offer the highest pecuniary emolument, and are most sought for by our able men, are not the literary professions. The counting-house takes to itself far more than its share of talent. It is no unusual thing for men to leave the bar, and even the bench, for the presidency of financial corporations or the charge of lucrative agencies. Within our limited sphere of observation, we can number as many as six judges who have left the bench for the counting-house. In New England the founding of a school of practical science (nobly done, indeed) has been attended with at least quite as much *éclat* as the establishing of any theological seminary. In the Old World, aristocratic prerogative more and more lowers its pride in presence of wealth. The banker is made a peer, and the power of gold enables even the Jew to win a seat among the legislators of England. The chariots of earls and dukes bring their coronets in humble attendance at the meetings of brokers' boards and railway commissioners. The Church, that boasts its immutable doctrines and priesthood, stoops to note the march of science and the arts. Divines like Wiseman strive to consummate the alliance of the philosophy of our century with the Papal faith; and the clergy of France, eager to enlist in their favor any new power, whether a steam-engine or a liberty-tree, parade with robes and censers at the opening of new railways, and sprinkle with holy water the giant locomotives, determined that Fulton, Watt, and Stephenson shall not work solely for the Devil. The University of Oxford, that Salamanca of England, has been compelled to conform somewhat

to the spirit of the age, and, without renouncing the Peripatetic philosophy, has consented to establish a chair of political economy, whose occupant, Dr. Twiss, distinguishes himself by a recent volume of Lectures sufficiently elaborate and dull. Leading moralists of our day, such as Channing, Chalmers, Whately, and Wayland, have given no small portion of their thought to topics connected with political economy. Popular reform runs constantly into some kind of socialism. One of the most ardent and well-educated schools of reformers, both in Europe and America, bases its system directly upon wealth and industry, and looks for the millennial time from a true association of interests. Poetry moves in something of the same direction. Corn-Law Rhymes have sometimes taken the place of songs of the sea and camp; the woes of poverty, expressed in the Song of a Shirt, have more pathos than the Sorrows of any of our Werthers. They that are regarded by some as the elect prophets of our time claim to be harbingers of an age of industrial order and terrestrial perfection. The disciples of the Swedish seer look for a new heaven upon earth, whilst not a few minds not to be despised, such as the author of the last book on our list, couple the names of Swedenborg and Fourier as the founders of the glorious social order which so fondly haunts their dreams. The spirit of Jacob Boehmen has descended upon an American Crispin, and on the banks of the Hudson an illuminated shoemaker predicts the approach of a new cycle of harmonious labor and equalized wealth, in which the two worlds of nature and spirit shall come together, and man for once stand in true relations to the universe.

All thoughtful persons are deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous social evils of our age, of the luxury and self-indulgence on the one hand, and of the poverty, ignorance, and degradation on the other. Christendom is startled with the new vision of Dives and Lazarus, — the phantom of famine under the very tables of plenty, — the horrors of starvation in an age of unexampled wealth and productiveness. It is beyond dispute, that, in the great countries of the Old World, millions of persons have been visited by the vices, without having shared in the blessings, of modern civilization. It is more than a suspicion, that important classes have not merely been left unaided, but have absolutely been put back, by the tendencies of our civilization. The saddest picture ever presented to us is that given by Sismondi, of the ten-

dency of large farming and manufacturing establishments — by the power of machinery such as can be wielded only by great wealth, and under the pressure of competition that is constantly crowding down wages — to break up small manufacturing and farming enterprises, and reduce the great mass of men to become day-laborers for scanty wages in the employ of great proprietors. The miseries of the agricultural and mechanical laborers surpass our worst anticipations. As yet we have seen little of such wretchedness in our own country. The darkest picture among us is furnished by the condition of the poor in our cities, especially the virtuous poor of that sex whose only protection against pauperism is generally the needle.

Now what are we to say of the civilization of our time, — of its pursuit of wealth, its natural sciences, its industrial arts, its intense competition, its economical problems? Condemn it wholly we hardly can, without arraigning the Providence of God, that has conducted us to the present order of things by methods which could not be prevented, however much for the better they might have been used. The discovery of America and India, the printing-press, the magnetic needle, the application of the inductive method to the natural sciences, the rise of the industrial arts, have brought on a revolution which nothing short of Divine power could avert. It is as idle to think of preserving the old social system now, as it would have been to forge armour and build feudal castles after gunpowder had made the peasant a match for the mailed knight and cannon-shot had put castle-walls to scorn. New means have been furnished of providing men with things which gratify their natural wants. What more certain than that these means will be used, and that modern science and art will be turned to the pursuit of wealth under all its varied forms by all discovered agencies?

There is, indeed, an extreme party in each of the leading divisions of Christendom, which thinks our civilization altogether in the wrong. The ultra Churchman sighs for the return of the Middle Ages, and prefers poverty, quietude, and charity to wealth, industry, and competition. Some specimens remain of the Puritan dogmatist, who look upon the world of nature and art as under the curse of God, and regard life as heavenly in the measure of its contempt of earth. We have known a class of spiritualists, who are jealous of the influence of the outward universe upon the soul, scorn

our modern utilitarianism, and even think it a mistake that men are not content to till the earth with the spade instead of enslaving the horse to the plough. But we, of course, cannot regard the new powers upon which our civilization is based as evil in themselves. Their moral value depends entirely upon the manner in which they are used. The printing-press, the spinning-frame, the steam-engine, the railroad, the magnetic telegraph, and all the agents that so stimulate the pursuit of wealth, are so many means of power placed within our reach by the study of the laws of the Creator. These agents are to be employed by Christians as well as worldlings; for it would surely be folly for the Christian to copy in all things the Apostolic habits, to insist on wearing cloth spun by hand when the product of the loom would save him so much time and means for sacred uses, — folly for him to travel to his post on foot, when he could go so much faster by steam, — folly to send Gospel news by a lumbering chariot, when the world's news flashes to its aim on lightning wings. God claims all our power as his own. To his service belong all our industrial means and agencies, as truly as the faculties and affections of our souls. Nay, there is something grand and subduing in the thought of the vast power over nature now possessed by man. It has been won by the study of the Divine plan in natural laws, and the result should be such as to give us profound religious impressions. In the use of natural agencies, as in the government of the body, a sacred purpose should be ever kept in view, and the natural be made subservient to the spiritual, the earthly to the heavenly. There is certainly nothing in natural science, in industrial art, or in the possession of wealth, that is inherently evil. It is in the agent that employs them, that the good or evil lies.

Herein is the chief difficulty of our civilization. Its spirit is too earthly and sensual, too selfish and discordant. The new powers that have risen out of the earth need to be Christianized as much as ever did the barbaric hordes that of old poured down from their fastnesses in the North. We are ready to allow that enormous evils exist in our time, and the amount of misery and wretchedness that still prevail in the most favored nations of Christendom is absolutely appalling. Surely these things should not be. Our globe readily yields an abundance that might well suffice for all its inhabitants. More of its fruits should be produced, and

those that are produced should be more beneficently distributed. Who shall show us the way to a better state of things, — to a social order more politic, more just, more humane, more Christian? Advisers come to us from three principal quarters. We will take brief counsel with them all.

The political economist has regarded it as his peculiar province to prescribe for social evils. His great deficiency has been his prevalent disposition to think only of the state of the public treasury, or the gross amount of the national wealth; thus caring little for the welfare of the people and the just distribution of wealth. It is encouraging, however, to see so many proofs that the true connection between the wealth of nations and the welfare of the people is attracting more and more regard, and that the political economists of England, who have so signalized themselves by their adherence to the chrematistic or wealth school, are startled by the dangers impending over capital from the desperate misery of the poor, and are beginning to modify their favorite doctrine, that the production of wealth is the great thing to be considered, while its distribution may be left to take care of itself.

Yet the chief value of political economy has lain, thus far, in its negative rather than its positive influence. It has imposed a powerful check on the errors of undue interference with the production and exchange of wealth, alike by its historical lessons, its ample statistics, and its close reasoning, without having done much towards establishing a positive social science. It is true, as Mill remarks in his *Logic*, that it has busied itself chiefly with the statics and neglected the dynamics of society, — has discussed existing tendencies rather than pointed out the needed powers.

Of course it is not our province, nor within our ability, to review the various economical theories, as they are characterized either by nations or by schools. It is well, however, to note their distinctive views, and bear in mind the services of nations and men in the progress of social science. The Italian school, philosophical and reformatory, — the Spanish, exclusive and fiscal, — the French, adventurous and socialistic, — the English, industrial and chrematistic, — the German, metaphysical and universalizing, — there are in our own time reasons to remember all these; and also the labors of the men who have given their names to economical systems, whether Sully, and the Agricultural system, — Mun, and the Mercantile, — Colbert, and the Manufacturing, — Law,

and the Financial, — Turgot, Smith, and the system of *Laissez faire*, — or Malthus, and the Population theory.

Little fruitful as the efforts of political economists have been in establishing a true social order, and discordant as their views have been, there are a few principles that appear now to have the sanction of the leading thinkers of every school.

First, it is allowed that all international warfare is a mutual injury, and that all aggression by one nation upon the rights of another is virtually an assault upon its own customers or market, — an attack upon its own interests. There is something very cheering in the peace doctrines that are now so extensively taught. The ideas once deemed so visionary, when enunciated by St. Pierre, have been taught in almost every portion of Europe from the pages of Say, and have found no champion more able than our own countryman, Carey.

Secondly, the condition of the laborer is now anxiously considered, and methods are sought by which he may be made to share more abundantly in the distribution of the wealth to the production of which he is so essential. Mr. Mill regards the future of the laborer as the great question of social science, and reviews with much wisdom and humanity the means pointed out for elevating the laborer's condition. If he had spoken his mind fully, we doubt not that he would have taken the right ground as to the laws of entail and primogeniture, and condemned a system that tends to exaggerate the evils of monopoly and limit the salutary distribution of wealth. The spirit that animates his "Political Economy" is far more generous than that which breathes through the pages of the "Christian Polity" of Chalmers. The Scotch theologian is right in regarding the religious education of the people as the chief ground of their welfare, but has too much disposition to make light of the tremendous injustice of British legislation.

The third principle acquiesced in by most political economists urges the removal of all restrictions upon industry, hopes more from opening free paths to individual enterprise than from attempting to adjust the interests of labor by legislative control, and looks with chief confidence to the general culture of the people as the means of their social elevation. The *Laissez faire* doctrine, the Let-alone policy, more and more prevails. No great name in political economy advocates the opposite course, except as a temporary ex-

pedient. Mr. Mill would have pauperism removed at once by colonization and other means, yet he trusts to the influence of education, and not to industrial laws, to keep the evil from returning. Political economy thus leaves to other hands the solution of the great social problem. It claims no power to regulate price, that terrible fatality which dispenses affluence or starvation in our day. Blanqui thus closes his portraiture of the state of society in Europe : — “ Behold what singular contrasts ! Political economy is filled with them, and meanwhile a new history full of contrasts still more strange opens upon it, just as this closes.”

We turn now to another quarter, which presents claims to our regard far more ambitious. We will glance at the doctrines of the Socialists. We use the term in no offensive sense, but in its philosophical meaning, as it is now used in Europe. It designates those who aim to reform society by a new social science, and comprehends the most various classes, from the wildest communist to the most careful and scientific philosopher. It takes in Owen and Louis Blanc, St. Simon and Fourier, and certainly does not exclude thinkers like Mill and Lamartine. We will speak, however, of the only school of Socialism that claims completeness, — the school of him whom Blanqui classes as the third of that trio of Utopian economists, Owen, St. Simon, and Fourier. Of the communism of Owen nothing need be said, as it has reduced itself to an absurdity, and the common sense of mankind can never favor a doctrine that robs men of motive and society of wealth, by impairing the inducement to labor in destroying the connection between industry and reward. St. Simonianism has vanished in vapor. Beginning in attempts at industrial reform, it lost itself in theological mysticism and supersublimated sensualism. The only element that it possessed of any permanent value passed into the system of Fourier, — the doctrine that men should be employed according to their capacities, and rewarded according to their work. It did not advocate community of property, although it sought to abolish the right of inheritance and leaned to another kind of communism even more objectionable. It aimed at a fraternal order, whilst it strove to erect a despotic hierarchy over labor and life.*

* The foolish attempt of Louis Blanc to fix an equal rate of wages for all kinds of labor, and to take the industry of the nation under the management of the government, seems to have combined the folly of Owenism

Fourier professed to have discovered the true social science, and his followers urge the claims of his system with a positiveness and confidence that have no parallel in history except in the ranks of that Church which is deemed by its members infallible. We do not propose to enter into a review or criticism of his doctrines, as they have in so many ways been of late brought before the public. The scheme surely is very imposing, and in its pretensions unites a certain Oriental magnificence with the exact forms of European thought; as if the spirit of Vyasa or Manes had entered the mind of Laplace or Babbage, and dreamed their mystical dreams in the formulas of mathematics, and in all the strange imagery furnished by the industrial and scientific wonders of the nineteenth century.

With the general principle of the system of Fourier we have no quarrel. Association is another name for society, and the progress of society is but the development of the principle of association. A Christian township differs from a savage wilderness by the extent to which association is carried and the principle of accommodation takes the place of strife. It is a great thing, that we live in towns and cities, whose roads, squares, schools, halls, churches, have been created by mutual accommodation, and each man for a trifling tax enjoys advantages which cost millions of dollars to provide. The principle that calls man into society calls him to constant progress, and who shall point out a limit to the power of accommodation? Baths, gardens, fountains, scientific halls, musical concerts, might be open to the inhabitants of any considerable community, if they would devote to them a portion of the sum they waste on indulgences that imbrute and impoverish them.

In common with Mr. Mill, we are ready to acknowledge, moreover, the desirableness of admitting labor to a share in the profits of production. Men work better when their pay depends upon their zeal; and the head of the establishment is interested in making his workmen feel themselves partners in his success. The experiment of Leclaire of Paris, praised by the *North British Review* and by Mr. Mill, is worthy of serious consideration, and the question should be

with the despotism of St. Simonianism. We have no doubt that he was much relieved by his change of position, and is far more comfortable even in his ambiguous standing in the National Assembly than as the Minister of Industry at the palace of the Luxembourg. The best cure for a visionary is to set him to carrying out his visions.

asked, How may laborers most beneficially become partners in the profits of their work? It is very obvious, that, until they are able to take some share in the risk of the business, they cannot expect to claim any greatly increased share in its profits. It is obvious, too, that, so long as laborers are as numerous and ill-educated as at present, they can expect little alleviation, and must work at about the same market price as now, and at best hope to increase their wages by unusual industry and skill. We watch with great interest the progress of the movement that tends to associate the laborer with the employer in the profits of business. What hope, however, can there be of any good result, until labor is elevated morally and intellectually far beyond its present standard, and Christianity has increased the power of the workman over his fortunes by increasing his power over himself, and so acted upon the capitalist as to move him to regard with more solicitude the lot of those less wealthy than he?

But the Associationist deems himself dismissed with faint praise, when his system is spoken of, however favorably, merely in its general principle. He is content with no judgment short of the declaration, that he has hit upon the complete science of society, and all evils would disappear if his method were followed. To the system of Fourier, thus presented, we of course have many grave objections. We have been for several years at some pains to acquaint ourselves with its principles, and have been a constant reader of its leading able organ in this country. It would be difficult to find passages in the Arabian Nights more extravagant than some of Fourier's speculations upon the philosophy of nature, or to select any passages in the whole range of political economy more acute and comprehensive than some of his dissections of our present civilization and statements of needed reform. A man must have more than the maw of Gargantua to swallow Fourierism whole, in all the strangeness of its cosmogony, metempsychosis, boreal crowns, and predicted æons, whilst the acuteness even of Bentham could not fail to receive many of its statements as just.

To us the Associationist theory seems altogether to overestimate the power of external arrangements to transform the dispositions of men, and some of its arrangements and principles, moreover, are morally objectionable. How it is that life in the "phalanstery" is to be free from the usual infirmities and passions of mankind, — how strifes and hatred

are to cease within those favored precincts, and industry and order and affluence are to abound, — we cannot conceive, unless the members of the association are a very select class, already educated under the best Christian influences. How the evils of competition are to be avoided between rival phalansteries, and the fluctuations of prices and the awards of labor kept at a desirable limit, we cannot understand, without presupposing a state of things that cannot exist in a nation not wonderfully pervaded by the blessings of education and its attendant industry and frugality. We object, too, to the theory of human nature favored by Fourier, which ascribes evil so exclusively to circumstance, vice solely to misfortune, vindicates tendencies which Christianity condemns, and takes away most of the significance with which Christianity rebukes sin and reveals its doom. We are willing that virtue should be rendered attractive, but are little disposed to accept the idea, that whatever is really attractive must, under even the best earthly arrangements, be virtuous. We reject utterly the claims of any man to be our moral guide, who is willing, in the boasted comprehensiveness of his theory, to organize illicit love, and among the divisions of the phalanstery to erect into a distinct class those whom he designates as Bayaders and Bayaderes. Under any state of things that we can imagine, the existence of such a body in any thing like social vicinity must be a nuisance utterly to be deprecated. We are aware that our Associationists repel the charge, that such licentiousness has a necessary connection with their essential principles. We are far from considering them as favoring immorality or as responsible for all the opinions of their leader. Still we feel ourselves warranted in speaking of this objectionable point, when we are told that Fourier has expounded the complete social science, and all other teachers are to hide their diminished heads. The whole doctrine of the desirableness of luxury, which lies at the basis of the phalanstery, seems to us very questionable. That a palace more magnificent than Rome or Versailles ever saw can be favorable to the true life of man, we cannot easily believe. While in this world, we cannot so entirely repudiate the self-denial of the cross, nor do we think it well to tell men striving for their daily bread and cheered by hopes of reasonable success, that they ought to feast better than kings and revel in every indulgence, and with less should not be content.

Yet we rejoice at the agitation of the leading questions raised by the Associationists. They stand on ground mostly free from the evils of communism, and are defenders of the rights of property and the connection between labor and reward. They have called attention to many crying evils of our civilization, and have thrown much light upon the philosophy of society. We hope much from the discussions started by them regarding attractive industry, the division of labor, the evils of hostile competition, the power of union, the wastefulness of isolated households, the remedies for the seven scourges of mankind. We welcome the many indications of a tendency towards friendly combination, such as guarding against losses by fire and shipwreck, and towards the whole system of insurance in case of property, health, and life. Who can tell how far the principle of guarantism, as the Associationists call it, is to be carried? Or who will limit the application of the principle to protection against loss, and refuse to extend it to the attainment of positive gain? We look with much hope in the direction opened by the school of Fourier for the results of judiciously combined labor, that shall facilitate productive industry, prevent waste, and insure a just distribution of the goods of life. Not for any ordinary purpose has Divine Providence furnished man with his mighty armament of industry. The gigantic powers of art, that have been discovered within the last century, await a true order of society for their worthy use. Only in true association can man wield fitly such mighty weapons. They are arms, not for isolated individuals, but for combined numbers, — for what Swedenborg might call, in a lower than his customary sense, the Grand Man.

We are to follow our best light, not doubting that the Providence that has brought our race to such interesting developments will open new ages of blessing upon its path. That the precise schemes of our Associationist friends will be realized, we have little faith. It is enough to say of them, that they have been most earnest to call attention to the great principles of true order, and that every step in human progress must exhibit something of the harmony of which they dream. They must bide their time, and give up the folly of thinking that all efforts to elevate mankind are of no avail when disconnected with the formulas of their system. We must be excused from believing, with the

author of the work on Swedenborg and Fourier, that the Christianity of the New Testament is a sealed book without his mystical commentary. He thinks it not impossible, apparently, that Christianity may soon appear in a new development quite as marked as that in which Athanasius fixed the doctrine, Leo led the organization, and Hildebrand completed the structure. We wait to see what Hildebrand will arise to carry out the doctrines of Swedenborg and the organic laws of Fourier. We can hardly believe that any genius less stern and despotic could succeed in reducing to practice a system which, unless a miracle should enable it to harmonize all discordant elements and subdue all refractory wills, must be enforced by commanding power such as of old made kings tremble and thrones fall. Where is the autocrat who is to erect his central palace on the shores of the Bosphorus, and dispense order to the nations with a majesty of which Constantine never dreamed?

The followers of Fourier profess their readiness to test their principles by the success of a fair experiment. We wait the result of an actual phalanstery to free us from the dilemma in which their pretensions place us, — the doubt whether their system will suffer more from want of completeness in attracting men to industrial order, or of efficiency in keeping them in subordination to the established rule. The author of the book to which we have just referred does not expect his vision of the Spherical Regency, Universal Harmony, Renovated Globe with its Boreal Crowns, to be realized for centuries; yet he urges the necessity of immediately starting a model phalanstery. The success of the experiment would, with most persons, decide the merits of the system. Until success crowns the effort, we must assign to Fourier a place in Utopia with Plato and Sir Thomas More.

We take counsel now of the Christian moralist, and ask what solution he can give of the social problem of our age. In all ages Christianity has concerned itself actively with the social condition of man, and the Church has never utterly forgotten to enjoin mercy upon the powerful, and offer comfort to the feeble. The Apostolic Church, in the enthusiasm of its first love, had property in common for a time, although the act of surrender was purely voluntary, and each man was left free to give or withhold his own. Afterwards more judicious counsels prevailed, and Christians, as they increased

in numbers, shunned the dangers of communism by relieving the wants of the needy through contributions that were based upon the idea of the right of individual property, under a sense of responsibility to God. We need not name the social revolutions produced by Christianity, — the rebuke of oppression, — the emancipation of the slave, — the elevation of the laborer, — the defence of the feeble, — the protection of woman, — the abolition of polygamy, — the care of the poor, — the religious education of the people. It is obvious, that, without entering into any ambitious historical disquisitions, the experience of any Christian denomination is enough to prove the power of Christianity to remove the worst social evils. Alloyed as our sectarian religions may be with baser elements, it is undeniable that the rise of the various denominations has been attended with a constant development of social virtue, power, and prosperity. Who will deny that the history of Christianity constantly illustrates the connection between Christian principle and good social economy, or that Wesley, Bunyan, Fox, and such minds, have done far more to bring on a true civilization than any of our boasting socialists? Hardly a more interesting book could be written than one upon the political and social economy of Christianity, as shown in the history of the Christian Church in its various communions. It would not fail to prove that the religion of the Bible elevates its receivers both in social welfare and in spiritual life, and that their temporal as well as spiritual prosperity becomes a blessing to others as well as to themselves. Dr. Chalmers deserves great credit for the power with which he urges the necessity of Christianity to a people in order to elevate them. He paints with a masterly hand the influence which a Christian purpose at once exerts upon a household and upon a community.

How can it be otherwise? A man's welfare depends far more upon his purposes than upon any of the accidents of fortune. Character controls the outward lot more than the outward lot controls character. What can act more beneficially upon character than a cordial recognition of the God of the New Testament, and of the obligations and privileges of that heavenly kingdom revealed with Divine authority by our Saviour? Wherever Christianity is sincerely welcomed, a radical change takes place in the life of the individual and the habits of the community. The plainest Christian virtues, such as chastity, sobriety, frugality, peace, have more to do

with promoting the true prosperity of a family or town than any specifics of politicians or theories of socialists. Where these virtues fail, the fertility of Eden would become a curse. Where these exist, the ungenial soil whose native products are little more than granite and ice becomes an Eden in peace and plenty. How powerful is the Christian idea of domestic purity and union! An adulterous people, like the Parisians, have not yet learned that there is in the Bible a secret of political economy far more efficient than can be found in any of the roseate speculations of their theorists. The Christian family, honest, industrious, temperate, kindly, seeking worldly good with a due regard to moral principles and eternal aims, is always a source of power and blessing to the community, consecrating mediocrity or affluence by a spirit that shows how much of the kingdom of heaven may exist on this our earth.

We are well aware of the indifference and worldliness that infect the Christian Church. Yet we have never lived in a place in which the Christian Church was not a centre of light, love, and power to the whole community. We have never yet seen the church that did not concern itself for the relief of the poor and the instruction of the ignorant, — that did not aim to impress the rich with a sense of their responsibility to God, and to extend to the poor relief in sickness, and to their children the blessings of an education which is better than gold. The religion of the Bible, whenever dispensed in its freedom, has been the most powerful stimulus to mental energy. The worth which it attaches to the soul lies at the basis of its zeal for education, alike intellectual, moral, and religious. What can be more diffusive and auspicious than the principle of such popular education? Wherever its aid is denied, either by priestcraft or despotism, crying social evils are found. Myriads of uneducated laborers, able to give only the rudest kind of toil for bread, are kept in prosperous times but little above the starving point, and the least fall in the financial tide sinks them into misery.

However imperfectly carried out, the spirit of Christianity, as regarded by Christians generally, tends to meet the very dangers of our civilization, without neutralizing its power. Not despising wealth, it honors its true use. Not condemning the agencies of science and art, it views them in their moral and religious bearings. Without wishing to destroy the competition which is such a stimulus to industry, it strives

to modify its spirit and overrule its tyranny by that coöperative good-will which is the highest motive in social action and the true basis of social order. If any thing like a true Christian heart prevailed throughout Christendom, we should have very little fear for the civilization of the nineteenth century, with all its wealth, science, art, enterprise.

But here the great difficulty presents itself. Can the Christian spirit prevail in the midst of such social discords and imperfect institutions? Must we not reform the social system, in order to act upon the individual character, rather than hope to reform the individual character, in order to act upon the social system? We reply, that both aims are to be earnestly kept in view, but that first comes the duty of the individual, and that we cannot hope to do much for social reform until they who would guide public opinion and morals are themselves guided by a right spirit. The Gospel method is the true one, aiming as it does first at the individual conscience, — through this at the social system, — then back from the social system at the individuals under its influence.

The question, then, comes, What is the duty of the Christians of our age in reference to the existing social system? They are, of course, to endeavour to guide their private lives by Christian principles. But they cannot do this without exhibiting an example that either favors or condemns the manners and morals of their time and neighbourhood. If they are candid, moreover, they cannot avoid expressing an opinion upon the prevalent policy in business, legislation, and society among communities and nations. What shall their example and opinion be? or in other words, what shall be their scheme of social reform?

It is easy enough to see and say what it should not be. It should not be the weakly sentimentalism that follows an impulse wherever it leads, without looking to see whether the end sought would be gained rather than lost by such a course. We want wisdom, as well as compassion, to enable us to prescribe for social evils. Poor is the practice that would allow the patient to perish, from a pity so tender as to shrink from giving pain by proper surgery. Wretched the philanthropy that would set a bounty upon crime, by treating the transgressor better than the innocent victim. Dismal the charity which, in its indiscriminate alms-giving, cherishes the very idleness and improvidence whose sufferings it would alleviate.

Shunning such sentimentalism, Christians are obviously called upon to examine present institutions in the light of Christian love, and to use their best endeavours to do away with the evil and favor the needed good. Let this course be followed, and there will be little occasion for complaining of the want of a "reform spirit." Every heart and every community will be called to the bar of judgment, and a more searching public opinion will be formed than any that is cherished among the agitators who would turn the world upside down in the fever of their one idea. A sober, judicious, Christian sentiment would be created, that would not go long without marked effect upon society, and even upon legislation.

What view are Christians to take of wealth in its relations to poverty? We say without reserve, that Christianity, instead of making war upon property, is to attach to it a yet higher value as the means of beneficence, and to labor at once to set a moral limit to its unjust accumulation, and lend new encouragement to the due employment of whatever is justly accumulated. Let the moral limit be set to accumulation, and immediately no gain is sanctioned which is purchased at the expense of justice or humanity. A stigma at once attaches to the overgrown fortunes that are won by fraud, oppression, or any demoralizing traffic. Apply Christian principle to the employment of wealth, and straightway a new power is carried into the business world, and capitalists are held responsible for the worthy use of their means as stewards of the Divine bounty. They are not, indeed, required to do as every sentimental philanthropist may demand, and pour out money like water for Quixotic enterprises or blind alms-giving. They are to employ their means in such a way as to develop the highest and utmost good among the people within their sphere, especially by giving them motive and opportunity for honorable and profitable labor, and encouraging them to improve their minds and hearts. They are to remember that men are best helped when best taught to help themselves, and should strive so to use their capital as to encourage the most laudable industry. Thus wealth becomes a public blessing, and the capitalist is the poor man's friend. He endows schools, hospitals, colleges, churches, and opens fields of efficient labor in places otherwise barren or desolate.

All wastefulness should be condemned, and of course the wasteful luxury that tends to enervate mind and body and squander the goods of life. In all expenditure, the money

expended and the commodity purchased ought both to be so used as to swell the amount of genuine good. This principle would strike at the root of the too prevalent forms of luxury, — the feasting, drinking, and idle show, which, although they may seem to befriend the trader and laborer by purchasing his goods or toil, yet give a pernicious example, besides turning the enterprise and industry of the producing classes into channels not beneficial to society. This principle would strike at the root of the stately ostentation of the Old World, which so grinds the faces of the poor. It would at once forbid men of large landed possessions to keep their land in haughty unproductiveness, thinking more of broad parks and rich game-preserves than of giving employment to the needy. It would grant small praise to such as the proud Duke of Buccleuch, who kneels on velvet cushions to repeat the litanies of a tyrannical church, and in almost the same breath refuses to the mass of the people of his dukedom a few rods of ground for a temple in which to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience; small praise to the queenly Duchess of Sutherland, who trains sixty children of the parish poor to chant responses at her daughter's bridal, and yet drove from their ancestral home fifteen thousand of her Highland clansmen, to turn their ancient villages into a pasture for a hundred and thirty thousand sheep.

The great question of pauperism would be settled in a new way, — by the method of prevention, so much better than cure. No visionary philanthropy need be invoked to break the connection between labor and reward, and to increase pauperism in the attempt to relieve its distresses. The poverty which comes from misfortune should never be left desolate, whilst the utmost motive, both of fear and hope, should be brought to the aid of industry, the encouragement of labor. Popular education, the abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, habits of temperance and frugality, will work better than any poor-laws. The more generous course will prove the wiser one, and the result will be, that, instead of regarding poverty and starvation as a necessary check on population, we shall find that industry and enterprise are the best safeguard, not only by adding to the amount of goods produced, but also by lessening the number of early and improvident marriages, and thus keeping down the ratio of population to food. Although far from adopting the Malthusian theory of the perils of excessive population, we can-

not but see great force in the favorite idea of Chalmers, that, as the estimate of the essentials of living is enlarged, and the laudable enterprise of the people is stimulated, the greater will be their productive industry, the more prudential the economy of home and the arrangements of the family. Poverty is prolific in offspring ; educated competence tends to set bounds to the passion which, when unchecked, is as culpable as any form of intemperance, and never fails to bring ill health to the mother and embarrassment to the home.

The grim form of crime stares us in the face not seldom in connection with poverty. Here is a subject for Christian action that can only be named now. Well may the proper treatment of criminals, with the hope of their reform, be one of the exciting topics of our age. Yet the main office of Christianity is the prevention, rather than the cure, of crime. Here the school and the church are mighty, and should be mightier still. New power will be added to their lessons, when business and legislation are conducted upon true principles, — when the crimes of theft and fraud are not virtually sanctioned by commercial trickery, and crimes of violence are not miniature imitations of wars waged between Christian nations. New power will come from their example, when hierarchies and sects pay as much heed to the ethics of the Gospel as they do now to their dynasties and dogmas. The annals of crime would be in a few years signally reduced, if the conscience of Christendom were alive to that one vice which is as intimately connected with the problems of political economy as of domestic comfort, — wasting, as it does, the nutritious grains needed to feed the hungry in manufacturing draughts that destroy at once dignity of character and competence of condition. Nay, every question of moral reform is also a question of political economy. What topic is more intimately connected with the destiny of our whole civilization, alike in its financial and its moral interests, than war ; and what evil is there in regard to which the general conscience is so indifferent ?

In arraying the forces which are to meet the dangers that threaten our age, we give the first place — the post of honor and of duty — to the Christian Church. We know that there are those who scout the idea of applying Christianity directly to the reform of social evils, and who insist upon caring only for the inner man, and leaving external matters to take care of themselves. But Christianity, although act-

ing first upon the soul, desires to act also from within outward, and cannot do this without attacking evil habits and institutions. Our Lord claims all of life as his own, and to the kingdom of God the jurisdiction of the whole earth belongs. Religion becomes either formal, or dogmatic, or dreamy, when it loses sight of direct practical aims. The Church, which is ever to be militant here below, starts at shadows or sinks into torpor, when it ceases to face prevalent wickedness and gird itself for the assault. Its true posture towards social reform can and should be kept without the surrender of its own prerogative, or the sacrifice of its own dignity. Its educated ministers, its hallowed worship and ordinances, its sacred times and seasons, all may be duly honored, and the needs of the age may be nevertheless met. Nay, the common worship of the sanctuary is never so interesting and edifying, as when the Gospel that is everlasting is preached in reference to present wants, and shown to be as true to-day as it was yesterday, and will be for ever.

Next to the force of the Church comes the force of the school. To the extension and elevation of the means of education we need not say that all Christians should give their cordial support. Even in this favored land, education is in its infancy. The culture of the whole man is not duly studied, and privileges such as are common with us in New England are denied to millions. Science has but just begun to go hand in hand with art. A more generous scientific and practical education will open new fields of wealth, and bring nobler aims before the enterprising youth of our nation. Already learning has been made attractive, and the schools of religion and of science are in many cases winning anew the love of their pupils. Ere long, some decided industrial results must come from the numbers of well-taught persons who are thronging into all the chief occupations. That will be a happy time, when woman receives her due culture, and is no longer doomed to an enfeebled body, contracted mind, and stinted means of livelihood. It is for Christian people to elevate the standard, and cheer on the workers in the cause of true education.

Christians thus faithful to themselves and the cause of sound learning will not fail of having a marked influence upon the industrial condition of the nation. Our clergy will be more ready than they have been, and are, to study the science of social economy in its highest bearings, and thus

meet the great questions of our time with something more than lachrymose pathos or sentimental hope. The doctrine of development in its Papal form we are little prone to accept; but sure it is, that the law of good-will and the doctrines of social harmony must, if carried out, lead to new and interesting results, and society, when pervaded by Christian principles, must be expected to exhibit arrangements quite as marked as those which followed upon the adoption of a priestly basis and dogmatic creed as embodied in the mediæval system, — quite as marked with power, and far more fruitful in blessing. The doctrine at the basis of so much of our political economy, that all questions of business must be argued wholly upon material grounds, will not stand a moment's fair investigation. Moral law is by right supreme, and its authority over the world of profit and loss, labor and wages, cannot be denied. If men say that business is business, and the current of business can no more be changed by moral influences than water can be made to run up hill, Christians may also say that the current of right principle cannot be reversed, and that, by the action of that orb which is the emblem of the Divine benignity, water does sometimes climb above the mountains to fertilize the earth in its fall. We believe that that power which is deemed so inexorable, the law of prices, is intimately connected with moral considerations, and that the wages of labor, although dependent upon the relation of the demand to the supply, in consequence of that dependence are acted upon by every thing that makes the demand more generous and rational and the supply more efficient and valuable. We do not believe, when men say that wages must constantly decrease, and there is no help for the system which dooms an industrious woman to drudge all day and half the night for mere bread and fuel, that they have gone to the end of political economy or to the beginning of Christianity.

What forms industrial improvement is ultimately to take we do not profess to decide. We cannot hope for the discovery of any social mechanism so perfect as to regenerate man and society by an ingenious apparatus of circumstances. Yet we believe that the day draws near, when society will exhibit the power of friendly coöperation above chaotic rivalry, and, without destroying the salutary check which competition imposes upon indolence, will have far more of the Gospel emulation that "provokes unto love and good works."

Our own country is a land of boundless opportunities. We may hope and strive for the best.

The language of hope is always wiser than that of despair, alike in reference to an age and an individual. Christians have surely great ground of hope in respect to our present civilization. We ought to beware of estimating the character of our age solely by an ideal standard. We are not to call its civilization evil, because it does not come up to our philosophical Utopia or our Christian pattern. Let each thing be compared with its own kind, — the age that now is with the ages that have been. Take this view, and there is more ground for hopeful enterprise than for desponding quietism or morose complaint. The Divine Providence has intrusted to us vast powers for uses far nobler than have been generally recognized, and those powers must be the basis of a new order of things. To God they belong, and to him they should be consecrated. Let them be wielded with any portion of that wisdom and energy which of old tamed the Northern barbarians into submission to the Cross, and the race of Titans that have risen up and borne themselves so proudly as sons of earth shall become the children of God. This nineteenth century and its succeeding ages shall stand in high preëminence above the lauded times of mediæval faith or Puritan dogmatism. A Pericles and a Julius Cæsar might admire its beautiful tastes and masculine energies, whilst a Bernard or a Calvin would not deny its claims to spiritual purity and devout faith.

S. O.

ART. V. — COMMON SCHOOL EDUCATION.*

WE are late in our notice of Mr. Mann's Report, which was published in the early part of the last session of the Massachusetts legislature. Distributed at that time over all parts of our Commonwealth, and eagerly read, as have been all his Reports, it has stood in no need of the friendly office of a review to bespeak for it public attention. Meanwhile it has been exerting, we doubt not, a strong influ-

* *Eleventh Annual Report of the Board of Education; together with the Eleventh Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board.* Boston: W. B. Fowle. 1848. 8vo. pp. 135.

ence in awakening and deepening general interest in the great cause of which it treats, and we are equally confident that its beneficent agency in this direction will be prolonged. This Report has some features which distinguish it from all its predecessors ; and a recent second perusal has prompted us to submit the remarks which we shall now present.

It appears to have been, from the first, a leading object with Mr. Mann to make his annual communication to the public a vehicle, not only for a view of the educational movements of each year, but also for the discussion of some important topic closely connected with the great interest which he has had in charge. In this we think he has acted wisely. His Reports, which would otherwise have been mere ephemeral productions, have now a permanent value, and form of themselves no mean library, which all the friends of education will prize.

In the Report before us, the point discussed is implied in the question, — How much can be accomplished by the best education that we can command ? Supposing all the children in our Commonwealth to be brought under the influence of our common schools, and supposing those schools to be made as good as we now have the means of making them, what percentage of young persons can be made useful and exemplary men and women, and what percentage must be pronounced “ irreclaimable and irredeemable ” ? The question seems to demand an arithmetical exactness which it is obviously impossible to reach. Nevertheless, the inquiry is one of great importance. Want of faith is at the bottom of all feeble efforts and half-way measures. In every moral enterprise, the first thing to be done is to see clearly just what we can do. Earnestness, enthusiasm, self-sacrifice must be the fruit of faith in possible results ; and in the case of education, who can doubt that tenfold greater efforts would have been made, had not the public believed that an indefinite, but vast, amount of ignorance and vice must necessarily exist in every community, and must be the fatal bequest of one generation to another ? The Commonwealth can have no greater benefactor than is he who proves that such a notion as this is a delusion ; who shows that it is possible to rescue nearly all from darkness and crime ; who presents our beloved State to us under the image of a venerated parent, throwing her protecting and blessing arms around all her children, so that none of them shall be lost ; and who

tells us in plain and solemn words, that, if by means now in our power we can secure such a result, we are "criminally responsible," if we do not.

In order to make this impression on the public mind, Mr. Mann adopted a plan which was both original and interesting as an experiment, and is now in its result fruitful of encouragement and hope. Preparing a circular setting forth the inquiries and conditions which we have indicated above, he sent it to eight teachers in different parts of our country, who have been distinguished for their long experience and general success, desiring them to indicate, as the result of their observation and experience, what percentage of children may be trained up so that "their existence, on going out into the world, would be a benefit, and not a detriment, an honor, and not a shame, to society." The answers of these eight teachers, covering twenty-seven closely printed pages, are given in the body of the Report.

It is not our intention to notice these answers at length. We will content ourselves with observing, that they appear to us to be remarkable documents, and well worth the notice of both the theologian and the philanthropist. Mr. Mann states, that the writers, "all of them without exception, are well-known believers in a theological creed one of whose fundamental articles is the depravity of the natural heart." It was to such only that he sent his circular, through no disrespect, as he adds, "towards the many able and eminent teachers of a different religious faith," but because he "wished to know what was deemed to be practicable by those who saw the greatest difficulties to be overcome." Under these circumstances, the letters present replies such as we should not have expected. We have been agreeably surprised in reading them. With entire unanimity, speaking from an experience varying from ten to forty years, and in terms remote from any ambiguity or hesitancy, they unite in saying, — Bring all children into your public schools, keep them there six hours a day for ten months every year, between the ages of four and sixteen, and under the intellectual and moral training of the best teachers that can be procured, and the result will be not more than two *per cent.* of incorrigible children, as five of these writers say, while three of them agree in thinking that every child might be trained up to a life of usefulness and virtue.

It is but justice to the writers to add, that they do not

regard such statements as bringing their orthodoxy under any suspicion. They take pains to discriminate between a religious character, which is not, as they think, wholly a work of education, and a life of morality, though the latter be habitual and from principle. It is this alone which they think can be secured to the great extent they have indicated.

We have heard some complaints made of the course Mr. Mann has taken in respect to these letters. We ourselves think that the Secretary has held up the religious opinions of one class of teachers in a stronger contrast with those of another class than was needed for the sake of his argument; while his representation of the doctrinal belief of the writers is, it must be confessed, somewhat unguarded and exaggerated. He was here on ground aside from his usual track of thought, and aside, too, from the general purpose of his office; and that strong and fervent pen of his here, as in some other cases we can name, waxed a little too warm. But we impute to him none but the fairest, broadest, and most disinterested motives; and we thank him for the very valuable and important testimonies he has presented to the public in confirmation of the leading positions of his Report.

Coming from the men by whom they were written, how full of encouragement are these letters to all friends of education, to all instructors of youth, and to all Sunday-school teachers! We will not here enter into any metaphysical distinction between a religious character, and a life of usefulness and virtue, habitual and founded on principle. By those who see that distinction most clearly, it must yet be admitted that the latter is made, by God's grace, the plain and almost sure channel to the former. What an argument, then, have we here for greater faith in the efficacy of wise, earnest, and persevering training! When we are told what results they confidently predict, who see the greatest obstacles to be overcome, who yet speak from the experiments which they have been making for years upon the docility and improvability of a nature which they believe to be corrupt, what ought to be our zeal and our faith and our confidence, who cherish more generous views of man's native tendencies and capabilities! These writers may have expressed themselves too strongly, through a natural and pardonable exaggeration, arising from the influence of a loved and life-followed profession. We do not think that they have allowed enough for the counteracting influences of home, and the

whole circle of associations out of school. Mr. Mann himself has also, as we think, fallen into error here. Nor is this all. The experience of these eight teachers has been mostly confined to private schools, the pupils of which, with their parents and their home influences, have all been of a grade much higher than would be the average in our common schools. But make all the deduction which the case reasonably demands. Let it be, that, in the use of the best educational means in our power, five *per cent.* of all children are incorrigible and irreclaimable. Can we train up ninety-five *per cent.* to become useful and virtuous members of society? Is this result within the limits of our power, just as surely as the farmer may raise seventy-five bushels of corn to the acre, if he will only take the pains? Does, then, the Commonwealth lift up and bless this proportion of her children? If she does not, "then the State itself," to use the language of the Report, "becomes a culprit, and, before the great moral Judge who is seated on the throne of the universe, it must stand a spectacle of shame and guilt, like one of its own inferior culprits before its own judicial tribunals."

The remainder of this Report is devoted to remarks on the practicability of fulfilling the presupposed conditions, — namely, that all children be brought under regular intellectual and moral training, and, further, that they be placed under the care of enlightened and faithful teachers. We regret that we have not space to dwell upon Mr. Mann's earnest words. In the present position of educational reform, these are the two points which claim chief attention. How sad it is to think of the great number of youth in all our large towns and cities who never attend school at all, or, at best, only with long intervals of absence, — who, in the midst of a civilized and Christian community, are growing up in heathen darkness and savage barbarity, and are sure to become hereafter the inmates of our jails and prisons! Cannot something be done to rescue and save them? Has not the community a right to protect itself against their acts of violence and crime by some compulsory provisions requiring them to be trained up to an honest and virtuous life? It was the just remark of Dr. Paley, that "to send an uneducated child into the world is little better than to turn out a mad dog or a wild beast into the streets"; and surely the time must come when the State will not permit this to be done.

As to the other point, the chief obstacle will be the ex-

pense, first, of training up an order of teachers who shall be thoroughly furnished for their work, and secondly, of raising their calling to the dignity of a liberal profession, by offering a compensation ample enough to secure the services of our wisest and best men. But on this point we will not despair. A hundred millions of dollars thrown away in two years, on an unnecessary and wicked war, have done something, we believe, to make the public reflect upon other and better objects to which their treasures may be devoted. A Massachusetts man undoubtedly loves his money. But we will remember that there is no cause for which a Massachusetts man gives his money more freely than for education. We will remember another thing. A Massachusetts man is good at a bargain ; and if it can be proved that he can save ninety-five hundredths of what he now pays for police and prisons, for drunkenness and crime, he may well submit to have his school-tax doubled and trebled, and count it " a good operation " besides.

We cannot conclude this notice without expressing our gratitude that we live under the banner of a Commonwealth which, through publicly supported officers, is seeking to carry on such a great reform as that which this Report contemplates. Her schools, and hospitals, and institutions for reform, constitute her greatest glory ; and to the long list of these, to which she now points with pride, another is soon to be added, — the State Reform School at Westboro', which is to commence its beneficent operations this autumn. Like a wise and devoted mother, she pities and provides for those of her children who are insane ; she undertakes to give eyes to the blind, and ears to the deaf ; she seeks to reclaim youthful wanderers ; nor does she despair even of the hardened criminal, whom she kindly strives to win back to virtue and peace. And now she asks, — Why need any wander ? Why need any turn their feet to the ways of sin and woe ? If we make a good training sure to every child, may not all be saved, to become useful and happy ? May God's gracious favor rest upon the State that has put forth these questions ! Where, in the history of the whole world, is the other State which has ever asked them, or which has conceived the hope they imply ? They will work in the public mind, they will lead by and by to better plans, they will train up a better generation ; and the Commonwealth which has been faithful to her capabilities and trusts will find fulfilled

to her the words, — “ Her children rise up and call her blessed !”

Nor can we close without a parting word in reference to the Secretary of the Board of Education, who is soon to retire from the post which he has so ably filled. We well remember the surprise that was expressed, twelve years ago, that a man of his gifts and hopes should accept of the unknown and untried office to which he was then appointed. But in his hands the office soon became conspicuous and of no doubtful utility ; and it is now difficult to conceive in what walk of life he could have rendered more effective service to the public, or have built up a higher and purer monument to his own fame. On turning over the leaves of the ten volumes of the School Journal which he has edited, and the eleven long and elaborate Reports which he has made, we are surprised at the extent of his vast and multifarious labors. The bare titles of the subjects which he has discussed with singular interest and ability would fill more than one of our pages. And this has occupied only a part of his time, — the remaining portion having been laboriously devoted to lectures on education, teachers’ institutes, normal schools, and careful personal examination of various literary institutions at home and abroad, besides an extensive and burdensome correspondence. The fruits of his labors are seen in a general improvement of our whole school system, to a degree beyond what the most sanguine could have expected. He has made his mark on his times. He has, in effect, created an office which we shall now regard as indispensable to some of our best interests, and the light of which has inspired other States with a desire to secure similar blessings for themselves. We are reconciled to his removal to a wider sphere of duty, by remembering that he will not sink the character of a great public benefactor in that of a mere politician, but will carry with him that high and courageous pursuit of the right, which is needed nowhere more than in the position which he is now called to fill.

H. A. M.

ART. VI. — THE TENDENCIES AND THE WANTS OF THEOLOGY.

[A Discourse, delivered before the Alumni of the Divinity School of the University at Cambridge, July 14, 1848. By GEORGE W. BURNAP.]

IN selecting a subject to present to you to-day, I have been governed in my choice by a desire to occupy your attention with some topic of immediate interest and practical importance. It is appropriate, as I conceive, to the occasion, to take some general view of the great work in which we are engaged, or the circumstances of the age in which we live, that we may learn the duties of that brief hour in which we are called to work in our Master's vineyard. I have therefore chosen to direct your thoughts to the Tendencies and the Wants of Theology in our country at the present time.

By theology, I mean the doctrines which are taught in the pulpits of this land from Sabbath to Sabbath, as constituting the sum and essence of the Christian religion. What that theology is and shall be is a subject of vital, paramount importance. The theology that prevails in any country becomes no mean part of the basis of all opinion, the estimate of all character, the law of all duty, the principle of all law, the mould of all development; and gives its shade and its coloring to the very texture of every-day life. Individuals, communities, nations, are formed by it. It is a plastic power, which works more subtly and more mightily than climate or latitude, than soil or atmosphere. The Catholic is the same at the frozen pole and under the burning line. The Calvinist exhibits the same individual characteristics among the hills of Scotland and the ever-blooming vales of the tropics. He, then, who wields the influence of theology exercises the mightiest control over the condition and the destiny of man. He who teaches men religion is placed at the fountain-head of power. In this sense it was, that Jesus promised his disciples that they should "sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."* This they were to do, by becoming the religious teachers of the world.

* Mr. Burnap used as a text the words of Christ contained in Matthew xix 28: — "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

They went forth, as he commanded, and fulfilled his prophecy of sitting with him on his throne, by promulgating his truth.

But Christianity, in converting the Pagan world, and passing into the hands of those who had been educated under Pagan influences, was modified by the very Paganism it subdued. The disciple of Christ and the teacher of the world became in some measure transformed into the Pagan priest. He clothed himself in the Pagan's splendid robes. His humble ministrations became a gorgeous pageant, and the Jewish synagogue, in which Christianity was born, soon found itself changed into a magnificent temple. Forms and ceremonies took up the time of public assembly, and crowded out the great office of Christ and Christianity, the religious instruction of the world.

After centuries of perversion and mistake, the Christian minister in this country is at last restored to his true sphere, in becoming once more the religious teacher of his fellow-men. A higher sphere his ambition cannot ask ; for in so doing he sits with Christ on his throne, — he wields a spiritual dominion greater, more absolute and enduring, than any other. He performs the vital and controlling function of thinking for the multitude, while they are absorbed in the cares of the world. They come together on the only day of leisure and rest, to be, in a great measure, the passive recipients of the doctrines, the opinions, and the sentiments which he chooses to inculcate. Who, then, can measure or estimate the extent of his power ?

But what do the ministers of religion teach ? Not simple Christianity, for then they would all preach the same thing. They preach a theology, each after the forms and creed of the church to which he belongs, — a system of doctrines made up in part from traditionary interpretations of the Bible, and partly from the deductions of human reason, the philosophical speculations of men upon the nature of God and the phenomena of human nature and human life.

The theology which now reigns has been the work of ages. Every powerful and original thinker, since the age of the Apostles, has contributed to it. While the Church maintained its unity, the elements of which its theology was made up were gradually incorporated into it by the action of successive councils. Since the Reformation, it has been dispersed about in the different creeds of the different

fragments into which the Church has been broken. These creeds have been upheld by the arm of the civil power, till the formation of the American Constitution severed the connection of church and state, and left articles of faith to stand or fall on their own merits at the bar of reason.

Freedom is always a long time possessed before it is felt or exercised. The shadowy chain of habit long continues to bind the limbs, after the real one is taken off. And in this land of entire religious liberty, it was not till the commencement of the present century that the great work of the *revision* of theology may be said to have been undertaken. That work is now going on, and nothing can stop it. The institution whose graduates I this day address may be said to have led the way. Here have been asserted and carried out the great principles of the Reformation, — “the sufficiency of the Scriptures, and the right of private judgment.”

In consequence of the spirit of investigation awakened in this country since the commencement of this century, a great change has passed over its theology. The sternest advocates of the dogmas of the past do not pretend to deny or disguise the fact. All feel the movement, which, like a mighty undercurrent, is sweeping them onward, they know not whither. There is not an ecclesiastical body in this land which has not felt the impetus, and been moved from the dead stagnation of implicit faith. All churches have been divided by it into two parties, — one advocating progress, the other well satisfied to let things remain as they are. In each of these parties, there are those who are disposed, as usual, to go to extremes. On one side, there are those who fear and refuse to examine, lest every thing be overthrown. On the other, there are not a few who suspect every part of theology, because a portion has been discovered to be unsound. One chooses to go back to the dogmas of the past, and receive and inculcate them unexamined; the other has become skeptical by finding so much that is untrue, and therefore is in danger of landing in total unbelief. This brings me to the subject which I mean to discuss before you this day, — the tendencies and the wants of theology in this country at the present time.

These, as I have already intimated, are two, — one towards virtual deism, by the rejection of every thing supernatural in the Bible, the other to a passive reception of the theological dogmas of the ages that are gone.

The deism of the present day differs from that of ages

past, by professing to be preëminently religious. It resolves Christianity into something greater than itself, by identifying it with those universal religious convictions which pervade humanity, and underlie and sustain all creeds and all forms of worship. By the canons of this unwritten and universal theology it proceeds to judge of Christianity itself; to alter and amend, as the case may be; to discard its miraculous testimony, that it may become the more credible; to modify some of its fundamental principles, that it may not be left behind by the manly wisdom of this mature age of the world; to prune away its rites and ceremonies, as being too unspiritual for this refined and intellectual period. Its piety is pronounced Judaic and superstitious, its humanity barbarian, its social organization unjust, its wisdom superficial, its light darkness.

Another portion of the Christian world are shocked, and justly shocked, by such propositions. They shrink back appalled by the consequences of such reckless speculation, and are disposed to consult the safety of religion by arresting all theological inquiry. They become ashamed of the results of Protestantism, and almost repent of the Reformation itself. They are half disposed to say, — "Let us go back into the arms of Mother Church, and take refuge from doubt and perplexity in an implicit and unquestioning faith. In the dark recesses of that ancient edifice we shall find peace and rest."

These are the extremes of the theological tendencies of the age. There are persons to be found at every intermediate point between implicit faith and total unbelief. How are these tendencies to be met? What are we to think, and how are we to act, concerning them?

In the first place, I say, that we have no serious reason to apprehend that Christianity will be supplanted by a religious deism. When the Bible is cast aside, the world of religious ideas is thrown into utter confusion. It is uncreated, disorganized, and returns to chaos. No human power can reconstruct it. Deism has no creed, no text-book, no church, no ministry, no apostolic or any other succession, no means of perpetuating itself, or even of ascertaining and defining its own identity. It is something, any thing, or nothing, according to the caprice of its various teachers. It cannot obtain a substantial and positive embodiment. The ground it aspires to stand upon, as the religious teacher of the world, is already occupied by Christianity. Christianity holds its pres-

ent position by prescription, as well as by divine right, and cannot be ejected, unless its title can be clearly disproved. This cannot be readily done. Christianity rests on an historical basis which cannot easily be shaken. Its records bear marks of the age in which they profess to have originated, which no ingenuity can set aside.

Deism, under these circumstances, cannot succeed by bare denial. It has something positive to accomplish, before it can obtain a universal, or even a general reception. The existence of Judaism and the Old Testament, of Christianity and the New Testament, are facts in the world's history. These books have a character so marked and peculiar, that nothing can ever be put in the same category, or brought into competition with them. They contain a history of their own origin. They are historically developed from miracle. Miracle accounts for their peculiarities. The world will go on to accept this explanation, until the deist shall furnish it with one more probable without miracle. This is the real problem which the deist has to solve, and which he must solve before he can make any considerable impression upon the faith of the Christian world.

In this attempt deists have hitherto signally failed. It was in vain that Hume pretended to demonstrate that a miracle could never take place, or, if it did, could never be authenticated. It is in vain that Strauss has attempted to apply the subtle alchemy of his mythical theory to dissolve the solid facts of Christ's personal history. They came out of the crucible just as they went in, — their sharp outlines un mutilated, their natural coloring unchanged. No candid man can deny that his concluding chapters are an utter failure, wholly impotent and inconclusive.

The abandonment of a positive belief in Christianity as a miraculous revelation is accompanied by the loss of all moral power. The power of Christianity to elevate, to purify, and control mankind has lain in its faith, not in its ethics, — not in its clearer definition of what is right, but in the new motive and moral power, in the life and immortality, which rose up out of the sepulchre of Jesus, — in the conviction of his present exaltation, which makes his Gospel not so much the words he uttered on earth, as a voice now speaking to us from the spiritual world. It was "the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men," it was the mansions of rest which Christ assured his disciples that

he went to prepare for them in his Father's house in heaven, which swayed the minds of men so powerfully. Destroy the faith, and, though the ethics remain, the religion becomes impotent. The world relapses to the level of heathen morality and civilization. Christianity is a religion no longer. It is not even a philosophy. It is an exploded imposture. The characters of Jesus and his Apostles cannot be defended for a moment. They were either deluded enthusiasts or daring impostors ; or their historians, whoever they may have been, were so grossly dishonest or misinformed, that no reliance can be placed on any part of the narrative either of facts or teaching.

The position, then, of a teacher of Christianity who denies its miraculous origin is absurd. He casts the worst species of discredit upon the very text-book over which he preaches. The judgment of a man who imagined himself inspired for two or three years, and then died under that delusion, is not to be trusted on any subject. The testimony of men who spent their lives in the propagation of belief in a risen Saviour is not to be regarded on any matter of fact, if they could be so far imposed upon as themselves to believe that they had seen and conversed with their Master after his resurrection, when the sleep of the tomb was still unbroken. No reliance is to be placed on any part of the record, if this conduct of the Apostles in bearing testimony to the resurrection of their Master is to be rejected.

The attempt to preach Christianity as a philosophy is as powerless as it is absurd. The position itself is a false one,—to attempt to stand in the Church and out of Christianity. “I am the vine, ye are the branches ; he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit ; for without me ye can do nothing. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered.” Preaching that is not penetrated, and leavened, and sanctified by a reverential faith in Christ, differs from that which is, just as the Apocrypha differs from the genuine Scriptures. It takes a lower tone, and substitutes a vulgar smartness for the noble wisdom of the word of God, and a biting sarcasm for the commanding rebuke of God's authenticated prophets. The evil spirits, which are thus attempted to be exorcised by a false invocation, turn upon the exorcists, and say, “Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye ?”

Abandonment of a positive faith in Christ is followed, not

only by a loss of moral power, but by another and more serious consequence. Unbelief usually passes over into a secret enmity and contempt. There can be no real respect for that which is regarded as an imposture or delusion ; and they who are the victims of it must share in the dishonor. Such feelings cannot always be disguised. They will sometimes reveal themselves in an unguarded moment. They will glitter on the point of a sneer, or dart out on the forked tongue of an innuendo. Not, however, to the injury of Christ or Christianity, but only of him who utters them. Christ sits too high in the reverence of the world to be reached by such missiles. Any imputation cast on him only recoils on his accuser. "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner. . . . Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken." The same unerring wisdom, spotless perfection, and spiritual greatness, which rose up out of the humiliation of a capital punishment, which consecrated the cross and changed its ignominy to glory, will maintain the ascendancy they have gained. The mob of Paris, in the hour of their utmost excitement, gave token of the universality of the veneration of the human heart for Jesus of Nazareth, when, with uncovered heads, they bore his statue in procession, declaring, "This is the Master of us all." — "He that falleth upon this stone shall be broken."

He who believes that the miraculous part of Christianity is a mistake or an imposture will not stop long at bare denial. He will become an open opposer, and then he will experience the truth of the next sentence of Christ's prediction : — "But on whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind him to powder." The stone, which was "cut out of the mountain without hands," and which was to "fill the whole earth," has grown so great, that he who lifts his hand against it, or puts himself in its way to arrest its onward movement, shall be crushed to atoms.

That which cannot be openly assailed cannot be secretly undermined. One of the strongholds of Christianity is the religious observance of the first day of the week. It is in vain to say that the respect paid to this day is a remnant of Jewish superstition, passed over from the seventh to the first day of the week, or that it had its origin in the civil enactments of the Roman emperors. It had a cause more deep, more vital, and commanding, — the firm and universal per-

suasion, that on that day Jesus rose from the dead. It was the Lord's day, not the day set apart by Moses or Constantine. It carries the Christian's thoughts back to the empty sepulchre and the risen Saviour. It is therefore that it arrests the hand of labor, stills the voice of amusement, and spreads a sacred silence over a whole continent. Destroy the belief in Christ's resurrection, and Sunday will be as much desecrated as its most violent opposers desire. Neither Jewish superstition, nor legislative enactment, could prolong its existence a single year.

Both Christianity and Sunday have the advantage of supplying a spiritual and a physical want,—a day of rest, and the need of worship and religious instruction. These wants are perennial, and inseparable from humanity. Man will always need rest, as long as he has a body ; and as long as he has a soul, he will desire to worship and hear of God, and duty, and heaven. Religious instruction will always be grateful, refreshing, strengthening. What shall be the basis of that religious instruction ? “ Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.” There is one who has assumed this very office of the religious Teacher of mankind. He professed to have been sent by God on this very errand. He proclaimed himself “ the Light of the world.” He brought his credentials with him. He taught a doctrine worthy of his claim. He commissioned Apostles, he instituted a Church to perpetuate his religion to the end of time. “ Other foundation can no man lay.” And it is a remarkable fact, that no one has ever dared to lay any other. No one has ever had the assurance to set aside the teaching of Jesus, and set up on his own account. Mahomet did not deny Christ. Swedenborg called his revelation the true Christian religion. Mormonism professes to be only supplementary to Christianity. Deism at the present day professes to be Christianity preëminently, and Christ is claimed as being the greatest teacher of natural religion. They who are most anxious to expunge the supernatural from the New Testament yet acknowledge Christ and Christianity as the highest fact in the history of humanity, and the mind of Christ as exhibiting the most perfect illustration of that common inspiration which God has accorded to all mankind. His existence and endowments were a providential, though not a miraculous arrangement. Thus Deism itself is brought round, by the transcendent spiritual greatness of Jesus, to the

very verge of Christian faith, and acknowledges itself unable to lay any other, better, or surer foundation "than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

I now turn to the opposite tendency, that which has lately been manifested towards ultra-conservatism. There can be no doubt, that in this, as in other cases, one extreme has produced the other. There is a deep-rooted attachment to Christianity in this country, and a strong feeling of gratitude to it for what it is supposed to have done in producing and sustaining our political institutions, as well as all our other social blessings. It has the moral convictions of the people with it. They are willing to forego theological investigation and Biblical criticism, if their result must be to shake in any degree the confidence that is now felt in the Bible. They are willing to leave the difficulties in the way of implicit faith unexplained, and to believe what is incredible, rather than enter upon an analysis which might change their views of any part of the Scriptures.

The clergy of most denominations amongst us are placed in a false position in relation to religious inquiry by the inconsistent action of Protestantism itself, in the first stage of its existence. Protestantism was in its very nature progressive. It demanded and obtained the right of free inquiry. It opened the Scriptures to the private investigation of every Christian. The same permission to investigate ought to have secured the corresponding freedom to declare and profess the results of investigation. Accordingly, the creeds of the early Reformers, the Confession of Augsburg, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the Westminster Confession, were made in good faith. They were in the first instance merely declaratory. They were intended to resist aggression from without, to consolidate and secure the good that had been already obtained, rather than to close the door to any further improvements. It was an afterthought which made them engines of constraint and oppression within.

When the heat and dust of the struggle had passed away, it was found that the power of the Papacy was divided, not destroyed. The effect of the creeds formed at and immediately after the Reformation was to stereotype, or rather petrify, theology, in the form which it had then assumed, quite as much as the creed of Nice, or the canons of the Council of Trent. Those creeds and confessions were brought to this

country by the churches which emigrated, and here they have remained unchanged to the present hour. The professors in our theological schools are bound by oath to teach them, the clergymen of our churches cannot propagate any other doctrines. Wherever there has been independent examination, there has been manifested a tendency to wander away from those standards of faith. But the slightest exhibition of such a tendency raises the cry of heresy, neology, infidelity. To sustain the old hypotheses, extreme and untenable doctrines are defended, in relation to the Scriptures. The extravagant dogmas of such writers as Gausson and Hengstenberg are quoted and lauded; and it is asserted as sound doctrine, that every word of the Bible was suggested to the writers by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The penmen of the sacred Scriptures were merely the amanuenses of God himself. Odium and suspicion are immediately fastened on any one who even suggests that such a theory cannot be maintained. The most crabbed metaphysical theology of the schools is again coming into fashion, and "Bodies of Divinity" are taken down from the shelves where they have quietly slept in the dust of ages, and reproduced in modern type and binding, just as our garrets are ransacked for the quaint old furniture which was the height of elegance two hundred years ago.

The question which is now presented to be determined by this age is, Can such a counter revolution be permitted to take place? Can a Protestant Popery be allowed to envelop this land in its dark and chilling shade? Can a Christian and enlightened country go on indefinitely professing one thing and practising another? Shall every sect in Christendom be suffered to denounce the Church of Rome as the mother of abominations, and practise all her arts of priestcraft and domination within its own little circle? Is this narrow sectarianism never to have an end? Is that intellectual and spiritual freedom, which Protestantism promised and professed to prize above all estimate, never to be enjoyed, — never to be suffered to bring forth its fruit and reach its true end, a nearer approximation to the truth of the Gospel? Can the sectarianism which Protestantism has produced ever be cured in any other way than by carrying out to its full and legitimate result the fundamental principle of Protestantism itself, absolute freedom of discussion and opinion? The external unity of the Church is for ever gone.

The only unity which remains as possible is the unity of conviction, or the unity of mutual charity and forbearance. Neither of these can be reached, except through full, free, and unrestricted examination.

This brings me to the second division of my subject, — the wants of American theology. The people, the common people, are thirsting for more theological knowledge. Our Sunday schools, our religious newspapers and periodicals, our tracts and lectures, awaken more curiosity than they satisfy, suggest more questions than they answer, originate more inquiries than they bring to any result, start more doubts than they solve. While the churches and the clergy have remained stationary, or endeavoured to remain stationary, the popular mind has been travelling on, till it has reached those very questions which the churches and the clergy had hoped to hush up by ecclesiastical censures and the cry of impiety and infidelity. Intelligent laymen are taking up and discussing questions which the clergy dare not touch and warn others against touching. The great mass of the people, guided by the inspiration of common sense, will not rest in either extreme of theological opinion, — dogmatism or unbelief. It demands a criticism, which shall analyze, without annihilating, the Bible, — which shall show in what sense it is the word of God, and in what sense the record of man.

The Bible contains the record of a revelation from God. But it likewise contains a history of the conduct of man under it. In that history is exhibited not only God's wisdom, but man's folly, not only God's truth, but man's errors, superstitions, passions, weaknesses, and sins. In the sentiments of those who enjoyed the light of a miraculous revelation there is a mingling, in various proportions, of divine truth and human misconception. "The light" shone "in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." Light struggled with darkness, creating a species of twilight, which brightened from the faint glimmerings of the patriarchal times to the meridian day of the Gospel.

The dogmatists take upon themselves to deny the *human* element, and in so doing make the Bible responsible for facts, opinions, and sentiments, which, if taken in their literal sense, cannot be received. The speaking serpent which conversed with Eve, and the literal, bodily devil who tempted our Saviour, become real actors in the fall and recovery of mankind. The demoniacal possessions and the resurrection of

Jesus are put on the same level. The imprecations of David and Christ's prayer on the cross become equally models of devotion. The words of an Epistle which begins, "Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians," carries equal authority with the discourses of him who said, "I am come a Light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness,"—"My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me." Encumbered with such views as these, the Bible itself loses its authority. The deist, on the other hand, denies the *divine* element of the Bible. In his view, it is all human. Its theology is an Oriental theosophy, the Jewish way of accounting for things as they are. The Hebrew idea of one spiritual God, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, was a happy conjecture upon a subject in which all is uncertainty, which happened to take possession of the Jewish mind, was developed in speculation and embodied by priestly and pious fraud and imposture into a national ritual and religion. And finally, Jesus of Nazareth, availing himself of national traditions and ambiguous prophecies, contrived to pass himself off upon the world as a divinely authenticated teacher, to extract what was spiritual and universal from the national faith of the Jews, and make it the basis of a new religion, adapted to the wants of all mankind.

In this view of things neither the human mind nor heart can ever acquiesce. They can never disown or deny the divine element of the Bible. The human heart can never be persuaded that a supernatural knowledge of God did not inspire and sustain the piety of the saints of old. The human mind can never be made to believe that such a long succession of holy men should have conspired to deceive the human race. It is not conceivable that such an identity of doctrine should have pervaded the whole existence of God's ancient Church, without a common divine illumination, when the Christian Church, as soon as it was forsaken by the gift of direct inspiration, was torn in pieces by a thousand heresies, with the very Scriptures, the source of all religious opinion, in its hands.

The advent, the character, the teaching, the history of Jesus of Nazareth, are a combination of facts which no ingenuity has hitherto been able to explain, without the supposition that he was what he professed to be, the Sent of God. The believer, when tempted to turn away from him, ex-

claims, like Peter, "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life." No insinuation of enthusiasm, mistake, or misapprehension can induce the Christian world to regard him as any thing less than "the faithful and the true Witness," "the First-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the kings of the earth." In the consciousness of the moral and spiritual elevation which he has conferred on his followers, the feeling of gratitude can never be extinguished in their hearts, or cease to be expressed by their lips, "to him who hath loved them and washed them from their sins in his own blood, and made them kings and priests unto God."

Such, then, being the fact, that neither the divine nor the human element of the Bible can be denied, and neither can exclude the other, the great purpose of theological inquiry must be to discriminate between the two, the revealed truth and the human history, the direct teaching of the Spirit and human sentiments and feelings, — between tradition and contemporaneous history, between doctrine and opinion, between argument and illustration, between conventional hypothesis and literal fact.

In short, theology stands in pressing need of a new criticism and analysis of the Bible itself. There is at the present hour no satisfactory treatise upon the Old Testament, to put into the hands of a theological student. The old, verbal criticism has become obsolete by the general abandonment of the theory of verbal inspiration. That vast apparatus, which the industry of centuries has been accumulating to decide the precise import of a word in the discourses of Jesus, has been rendered nearly useless by the uncertainty which has been developed by the discrepancies of the Gospels as to the precise expression that was used by Christ. These minor questions are swallowed up and lost in the higher question of the origin of the Gospels themselves.

There seems to be no probability that the American mind will acquiesce in any of the various results of German investigation. The patient scholars of that laborious nation have collected the materials, but seem wholly incapable of constructing a theology. There seems to be in the German mind an incapacity for success in such an undertaking, a destitution of the power of logical and consistent thought. There seems to be an incurable tendency to extravagant theory and cloudy mysticism. They do not build together.

Like the architects of Babel, they are confounded by their own diversities of speech. They do not understand one another, and sometimes it seems questionable whether they understand themselves. Every man lays the corner-stone for himself, in the peculiarity of his own hypothesis, which the next workman digs up or overthrows. Every new man that comes up attempts to cast the whole of theology anew, and he is especially careful to begin his work by demolishing every thing that has been done before.

The American mind, which possesses a strong infusion of Anglo-Saxon common sense, becomes weary of chasing such shadows over the field of thought, and finds itself reduced at last to the necessity of thinking for itself. It derives important aid from German research, but little from German speculation. The Germans have collected every thing in ancient records which has any bearing on the interpretation of the Bible. In the application of those vast stores of learning they are less successful. In the speculations of one wing of their theological army there are plain traces of the influence of a state religion and an established creed. The other is marked by the license of the most outrageous skepticism. Nor is it wonderful that the extravagant criticism, which scatters the personality of Homer into the fragments of an Homeric age, should find nothing historical in the earlier records of the Jews; that under such criticism Moses and the patriarchs should recede into a fabulous age, and be allowed to retain about the same doubtful hold on our faith with the heroes of the Trojan war. To such speculations the American mind has a natural repugnance. It will be satisfied with neither the orthodoxy nor the heterodoxy of Germany. We must have a theology of our own. We must analyze the Scriptures for ourselves.

Next to a thorough criticism of the Old Testament, we want an able, learned, and candid Christology, or, in other words, an exposition of the connection between the Old and New Testaments, the transition from Judaism to Christianity, the light in which Judaism and the Hebrew Scriptures were regarded by Christ and his Apostles, the subject of prophecy, and the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. The questions brought up and discussed in such a work would be the deepest and most interesting in theology. They go behind all verbal criticism, and settle the very principles on which its value depends. The time was, when

they were merely theological questions, and interesting to scholars alone. They are now become popular questions, that suggest themselves to the common readers of the Bible, and vitally affect their faith. The religious opinions of the Jews in the time of Christ, their expectations of their Messiah, and their interpretations of the prophecies, had evidently an important influence in forming the language of the New Testament, and give rise to the suspicion, in many minds, that Christianity was the growth of the age in which it originated. The highest office of criticism is to show that this suspicion is wholly unfounded, — that, while Christ seemed merely to develop the religious conceptions of the period, he gave the world a religion as original as it was perfect; he made use of the phraseology of the time as the vehicle of a wisdom as comprehensive as human nature and human life, as the symbolic expression of a truth which searches the inmost depths of the soul.

This leads me to say that we want a new analysis of the New Testament itself. Most of the mistakes and disputes in theology have arisen from regarding the New Testament as a homogeneous composition, from putting the Epistles on the same level with the Gospels, from confounding opinion with doctrine, from mistaking illustration for argument, hypothesis for assertion, rhetorical exaggeration for literal statement, limited propositions for universals, Oriental figures for simple facts.

The first and fundamental element of Christianity is historical facts. It professes to be, not a philosophy, commending itself as true by its coincidence with the intuitions of universal reason, but a revelation from God, authenticated by miraculous testimony. Its basis is therefore historical, the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth and his Apostles. Its origin is not placed in an obscure corner, a dark period, or a fabulous age. It blends itself with contemporaneous history, and connects itself with dates, persons, and places, in such a manner as to afford the amplest means of proof or confutation. Interwoven with this history are accounts of supernatural events, such as were proper to authenticate a divine revelation. Take out the threads of the supernatural which run through the whole texture, and the web falls to pieces. It is no longer worth the trouble of an analysis.

Next to historical facts come the doctrines of Christianity. Jesus assumed the office of a Divine Teacher, the sole

Founder of a new religion which should become coextensive with the world and as lasting as time. The doctrines which he taught in that capacity he professed to derive, not from the deductions of reason, not from the traditional wisdom of the past, not from the religion of the Jews, but from the immediate inspiration of God. What are those doctrines? It is an important office of criticism to distinguish them from another element of the New Testament, the floating opinions of the age. It was natural, perhaps unavoidable, that these opinions should appear in the teachings of Christ and his Apostles in the way of allusion or illustration. Whenever such a discrimination shall be made between the doctrines of Christ and the opinions of the age, it will be found that nearly all the doctrines which have been the subjects of controversy in the Christian Church will fall into the latter category, and cease to give the world any further trouble.

There remains a fourth element of the New Testament, which consists in modes of speech and mere phraseology. Almost two thousand years separate us from the Christian era, and almost a hemisphere of the earth intervenes between us and the places where the Saviour taught and the Apostles preached. Vast changes have taken place in the world since that day. We speak a language altogether different, in its genius and its idioms, from that in which Jesus taught. The imagination in this Occidental world has little of the glow which it had, and still has, in the East. Our forms of society and government are wholly diverse. Their organization was patriarchal, monarchic, theocratical. Ours is individual, democratic, I had almost said irreligious. The consequence of this is, that much of the phraseology of the Bible, when unexplained, is calculated to mislead the common mind, and systems of theology are built up upon Oriental figures. A dictionary of phrases at the end of the Bible would do more, perhaps, than any thing else to correct the errors and extravagances of modern theology.

Parallel with Christianity, and always exerting a great influence over it, has ever been an intellectual and spiritual philosophy. In fact, theology in the Christian Church has always been a system made up partly from the Scriptures, and partly from the reigning philosophy of the age. And it must be confessed, that, in constructing a theology, the philosophical element has been more regarded than the Bible. A human philosophy has oftener been taught in Christian pul-

pits than the simple doctrines of Jesus Christ. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, who were the first builders of theology, were quite as carefully instructed in the Platonic philosophy as in the records of divine revelation, and the heathen element is everywhere conspicuous in their work. In the Middle Ages, the schoolmen, under the training of the logic of Aristotle, took possession of Christian theology, and moulded it into a system of metaphysical definitions, as different from its original freedom and generality as the crystallizations of chemistry are unlike the boundless diversity and variety of the vegetable world. The labors of those acute logicians have survived the reign of the church to which they belonged, and the Reformers themselves, in the creeds they helped to frame and establish, contributed to perpetuate the dominion of the very minds whose influence they attempted to overthrow.

Our own Edwards confesses that he entered on the field of metaphysical disquisition with a theological purpose, and his great work on the Will, he tells us, was aimed as a side-blow to crush the growing power of Arminianism in the churches. Hume, as zealous an advocate of philosophical necessity as Edwards himself, seems to have had in view, in all his metaphysical essays, the total annihilation of every species of religious faith. In Germany, Orthodoxy has of late attempted to deduce its favorite dogmas from the Pantheism of Hegel. And the Trinity, the incarnation, the godhead of Christ, and the kindred doctrines, are thought to find confirmation in the Transcendental logic, which is equally capable of proving that there is no God at all.

We want no more metaphysics under false pretences. We want no metaphysics which are elaborated with a preconceived purpose of sustaining a theological hypothesis. Science, to be useful and valuable, must stand on its own ground, and be fairly deduced from ascertained phenomena. We do want a more simple and intelligible analysis of the intellectual, moral, and religious nature of man. We do want a better spiritual philosophy. It would do more than any thing else to dissipate those mists which seem to be coming over the field of religious discussion, in which the outlines of the objects of intellectual vision are lost, the imagination runs wild, and men are seen "as trees walking."

Finally, we want a new ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries. It would be the history of the origin of the

theology which now passes in the world as Christian, but which came from a source most widely diverse. The story of the action of Christianity upon Paganism has been told; that of the reaction of Paganism upon Christianity has, as yet, found no historian. The introduction of polytheism, of the dogma of the constitutional corruption of human nature, and the corresponding doctrines of grace, the rise of the hierarchy, the transformation of the simple worship of the synagogue into the magnificent ritual of the Middle Ages, the gradual merging of individual opinion in the authority of the Church, constitute one of the saddest chapters in the history of mankind. The materials are in existence which might make the gradual corruption of Christianity one of the most palpable of facts. Priestley did something in the way of bringing these materials to light and connecting them together, but his work shows merely what might and what ought to be done. A simple narration of the early controversies would scatter to the winds the Tractarian doctrine of development, and clearly show that what was condemned as heresy in the early Church was more often an honest resistance to innovation, — that, instead of calling in question what had always been taken for granted, the victims of ecclesiastical persecution were the conscientious defenders of the faith once delivered to the saints.

Such, in my judgment, are some of the most prominent wants of theology in this country at the present time. Able works on these subjects would do much to put an end to controversy, and restore peace and unity to the churches. They would be important guides to the theological student in the most perplexing part of his inquiries. They would relieve many an honest and pious mind from doubt and misgiving. They would do more to arrest the paralysis of skepticism and indifference, so painfully visible in some quarters, than volumes of argument on the evidences of Christianity.

In conclusion, I would say, that there never was a time when thorough theological scholarship was more needed than now. The ages of implicit and traditionary faith are passed, that of individual conviction is coming. He who now undertakes to teach Christianity must know what he teaches and whereof he affirms. He who would himself be firmly established in the faith, and not be "carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men," must pursue his own investigations with patience and thoroughness.

He must not think that his theological education is finished when his academic life is closed. It is only begun. It requires study, as well as time, to mature the mind and consolidate the judgment. The best remedy for neological tendencies is thorough scholarship, which enables its possessor to explain, as well as discover, difficulties in the words and the substance of the Christian faith.

There never was a time when the able theologian and thorough scholar could accomplish more than now for the benefit of mankind. Times of revolution and transition are the periods when intellectual and scientific efforts produce the deepest and most lasting effects. He who now writes an able theological treatise has access to more minds than he could have addressed at any preceding period since the introduction of Christianity. He who writes good English on any subject now finds more readers than author ever found before.

In view of the present religious condition of the world, the importance of the theological institution whose anniversary we this day celebrate cannot be overestimated. It ought to excite the warmest interest in the bosom of every friend of pure Christianity, of every friend of his country and of man. Its numbers may be kept down for a time, by the want of numerical importance in our denomination. But I am persuaded that it has a great mission to fulfil. To fulfil that mission numbers are not what we most want. It is learning, wisdom, piety, devotedness, mental discipline, eloquence, persevering industry. We want a theology, positive, definite, affirmative, fully developed from first principles, from the Bible, from human nature, from history and religious experience. With such a rallying point to consolidate our power, our cause would be strong, its course would be upward, onward, irresistible.

This ancient university was early dedicated to Christ and the Church. It was founded with the especial purpose of furnishing learned, able, and faithful pastors to the churches. If the wishes of her pious founders are to have any weight, her theological department ought to be the object of her special care. She does not abandon, she fulfils, the high purpose of her institution, when she enlarges and perfects the means of theological education. It is the stream of divine truth which above all things makes glad the city of our God. It is a cause of pride and gratulation to her most distant

sons, that, by the munificent benefaction of one who knows the noblest uses of wealth, she has been permitted to add a scientific school to her already ample means of public usefulness. It is well that the boundless physical resources of this country should be developed. It is well that the mines, the forests, the rivers, of this wide continent should be made to yield their treasures to its growing population. There is, however, a science of still higher value, — the science of living happily and well, of using the world without abusing it. This science is taught only in the word of God. It is this science alone that can prevent the exuberance of physical abundance from becoming a snare and a curse.

To this school of the prophets, then, let the liberality of the wealthy be directed. Let its faculty of instruction be full and well sustained. Let the young men they send out into the world be thoroughly educated. Let them be accomplished scholars and able theologians, as well as eloquent preachers, and, wherever they are placed, their influence will be felt in the diffusion of a more enlightened faith, a purer morality, a higher civilization, a piety more sincere and profound.

ART. VII. — VINCENT BOURNE AND THE MODERN LATINISTS.*

A NAME very little known to American readers is that of Vincent Bourne. As it was his choice to express his ideas through the medium of a dead language, he could not expect ever to become a popular poet. He wrote for scholars, for the cultivated, for those who have been fortunate enough to receive a classical education; and by them he has been appreciated, although his name is familiar to but few ears. In England he is much better known than with us, and this is

* 1. *The Poetical Works, Latin and English, of Vincent Bourne.* A New Edition. London. 1838. 12mo. pp. 320.

2. *Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt.* Accurante A. PORR. Londini. 1740. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 270, 252.

3. *Matthiæ Casimiri Sarbievi e Societate Jesu Carmina.* Parisiis. 1759. 12mo. pp. 383.

4. *Arundines Cami, sive Musarum Cantabrigiensium Lusus Canori.* Editio Tertia. Cantabrigiæ. 1847. 8vo. pp. 261.

partly owing to the fact, that there a larger number of persons are classically educated, and the art of making Latin poetry is much more sedulously pursued.

Without stopping here to discuss the oft-disputed question, whether men may not be more profitably employed than in composing hexameters, we shall assume at once that the modern Latinists have produced things worthy of the attention of our readers for a short time. The novelty of an attempt to direct notice to a class of literary productions of which Americans know but little may command some attention.

Vincent Bourne was a quiet scholar, who led a life of literary leisure, in the first half of the last century. He was originally intended for the Church, but was restrained from taking orders by scruples of conscience as to his fitness for the sacred function, and became an usher of Westminster School, where he passed his life between the duties of his office and writing Latin poetry. He owes a good deal of his reputation to the friendship of Cowper, who not only loved him as a man, but admired him as an author, and translated many of his works. "He was usher of the fifth form at Westminster," writes Cowper, "when I passed through it. He was so good-natured and so indolent, that I lost more than I got by him: for he made me as idle as himself." Vincent Bourne is generally placed at the head of those Englishmen who, in modern times, have cultivated the Latin muse, and he cannot be considered much inferior to any of the modern Latinists. Perhaps his success arose in part from the fact, that writing in Latin was perfectly natural to him, and not a learned affectation. He had much poetical talent, and, when any thing occurred which excited his fancy, it was as natural for him to write a Latin poem as it would be for other people to write in English. Cowper says, — "I love the memory of Vincent Bourne. I think him a better Latin poet than Tibullus, Propertius, Ausonius, or any of the writers in his way, except Ovid, and not at all inferior to him." This is rather indiscriminate praise, and destroys its own effect. Vincent Bourne as a poet somewhat resembled Cowper himself. He had the same nice observation of men and things, the same genial humor, and the same expansive sympathies, which awaken love rather than admiration. As a Latinist, his chief merit appears to us to have been the wonderful plastic power which he had over a dead language, so that

in his hands it seems no longer dead. Any thing that he wishes to describe, however modern and unclassical it is, — as a man smoking a pipe, a magic-lantern, a pair of spectacles, a coach too full of people, a tavern full of drunken citizens, — he places before us in terms not only distinct and picturesque, but absolutely classical, and such as Horace himself would not have disdained to use. His “*Iter per Tamesin*,” from which we shall presently give an extract, seems as little forced and artificial, and as spontaneously written, as the celebrated “*Journey to Brundisium*” of the classical humorist. This is his great merit. Other modern Latinists may have written in a more exalted strain, but in their mastery over the language no one has surpassed Vincent Bourne. An extract from his “*Trip on the Thames*” will enable the reader to judge of the ease with which he writes.

“*Urbem cum volui crassumque relinquere fumum,
 Plaustorumque vagos strepitus currusque crepantes :
 Nunc vocem stridentis anus, nunc murmura rauca
 Audire invitus fusæ per compita turbæ,
 Ad littus descendi et amœni Tamesis undas ;
 Ut possem recreare animum, placidoque recessu
 Et virides campos et dulcia visere rura.
 At nautæ venientem ubi me videre sagaces,
 Sese disponunt, omnes clamare parati.
 Et jam protensis manibus diversa loquuntur,
 Jamque vices rediisse suas, cinguntque tacentem.
 Muta signa dedi ; accepto decurrere signo,
 Festinat quidam, et cymbam velociter infert
 Præcipiti prora, reliquasque hic inde jacentes
 Proturbans, aperit cursus aditumque patentem.
 Interea dives pingui cum conjuge civis,
 Visendi pariter captus dulcedine ruris,
 Advenit, et puppim mecum conscendit eandem.
 Portitor, ut mulier navem conscendit, amicam
 Præbebat dextram, et gressus firmabat iniquos.
 Sæpe quidem voluit causas finxisse morandi,
 Expectans alium, si fors descenderet ullus,
 Quem veheret ; sed sæpe suum tetrudere jussus
 Navigium, littus tandem terrasque reliquit.”*

They go on some distance, till the waterman thinks that he should like to take a pipe ; therefore

“*tubulum cum pyxide magna
 Depromit, nigrum longus quem fecerat usus.*

Hunc postquam implêrat pæto, silicemque parârat,
 Excussit scintillam ; ubi copia ponitur atri
 Fomitis, hinc ignem sibi multum exigit, et haustu
 Accedens crebro, surgentes deprimit herbas
 Extremo digito : in cineres albescere pætum
 Incipit, et naso gratos emittit odores."

Nothing can be more accurate than this description.

Vincent Bourne made several translations from various pieces of English poetry, which have the same gracefulness and ease that mark his original productions. His translations of Mickle's ballad of "Lucy and Colin" and Mallet's "William and Margaret" exceed in elegance almost any specimen of modern Latin poetry that we are acquainted with. We have only room to give the first three stanzas of the latter.

"Omnia nox tenebris, tacitaque involverat umbra,
 Et fessos homines vinxerat alta quies ;
 Cum valvæ patuêre, et gressu illapsa silenti,
 Thyrsidis ad lectum stabat imago Chloes.

"Vultus erat, qualis lacrymosi vultus Aprilis,
 Cui dubia hyberno conditur imbre dies ;
 Quoque sepulchralem a pedibus collegit amictum
 Candidior nivibus frigidiorque manus.

"Cumque dies aberunt molles, et læta juvenus,
 Gloria pallescit sic, Cyparissi, tua ;
 Cum mors decutiet capiti diademata, regum
 Hac erit in trabea conspiciendus honos."

In spite of Dugald Stewart's animadversion on it, we like very much the expression in the second stanza, "Candidior nivibus frigidiorque manus."

As we said before, Cowper translated many of Vincent Bourne's smaller pieces, and Charles Lamb has also clothed in an English dress some of the graceful thoughts of this refined scholar, whose gentle and retiring disposition so much resembled his own. Latin epitaphs, in spite of the opinion of Dr. Johnson, — who liked them so much, that he once said, that, if he could help it, the walls of Westminster Abbey should never be disgraced by one in English, — are now usually considered rather poor things. Here is one which is a beautiful exception, and Charles Lamb's translation, which we add, is as beautiful as the original.

"In Statuam Sepulchralem Infantis Dormientis.

"Infans venuste, qui sacros dulces agens
In hoc sopores marmore,
Placidissima quiete compostus jaces,
Et inscius culpæ et metus,
Somno fruaris, docta quem dedit manus
Sculptoris ; et somno simul,
Quem nescit artifex vel ars effingere,
Fruaris innocentiae."

"On a Sepulchral Statue of an Infant Sleeping.

"Beautiful infant, who dost keep
Thy posture here and sleep'st a marble sleep ;
May the repose unbroken be,
Which the fine artist's hand hath lent to thee,
While thou enjoy'st along with it
That which no art or craft could ever hit,
Or counterfeit to mortal sense, —
The heaven-infused sleep of innocence."

Such are a few specimens selected from the works which employed the leisure hours of Vincent Bourne. And in these days, when life is scarcely long enough to carry into execution a tenth part of the plans and projects which our restless, contriving Yankee character lays out for us, it is a pleasant thing to look back upon the calm days of this contented scholar. And the times, too, in which he lived, — how much more of dignified ease and leisure they seem to have than our bustling age, — the times of wigs and swords, and hoop-petticoats, and stately minuets, and all the dignified formality and ceremonious courtesy which are embalmed in the glittering poetry of Pope and the chaste sentences of Addison ! Perhaps, though, if we knew the whole truth, those times were really as stirring as our own, — as much agitated by cares of life, the strife for wealth, and the intrigues of political ambition ; for the human heart is always the same. Yet the mirror of their age, which the old essayists give us, is so surrounded by an atmosphere of repose, that it resembles more some

"pleasing land of drowsy-head,
Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye,"

than real life. But in this world, different spheres of action are sought by different men, and, while the restless, intriguing, ambitious disposition of a Bolingbroke or an Orford could

find satisfaction only in the turmoil of the political arena, Vincent Bourne could live on quietly in his humble station, without envy or repining. In his own beautiful style he has described the mode of life that he would choose to lead ; and, more fortunate than most men, it was permitted him to lead it. We have attempted a translation of his " *Votum*," but we are aware how much it falls short of the beauty of the original.

THE WISH.

As a quiet streamlet, with noiseless waves,
The moist green meadows, and mossy caves,
And the forest's shady stillness, laves,
Pursuing its hidden way, —

Now winding here and there its course,
Meandering backward to its source,
Till, rushing on with swifter force,
It finds some ocean-bay :

So let my life in quiet glide,
Free from the cares of wealth and pride,
The forum's noisy broils aside,
And glory's bloody crown ;

And when night closes o'er life's day,
Wearied with toil, and sick of play,
With gentle hand, then let death lay
My limbs in quiet down.

We have said that the writings of Vincent Bourne are but little known to American readers. And this is the case with modern Latin poetry in general. Few persons know what an immense quantity of it there is, resting quietly on the shelves of great libraries, undisturbed except now and then by the incursions of some such vagrant strollers in the by-paths of learning as ourselves. And now that we are upon the subject, we think it a good opportunity to say a few words about this half-forgotten literature, and to mention some of the most distinguished names it records. A history of modern Latin poetry has never been written. To write such a history was one of the plans which Dr. Johnson always had in view, but the mind which accomplished so much never found leisure for this undertaking. It is rather strange that that literary antiquarian, the elder D'Israeli, has never wandered into these untrodden paths. He could have made such

a history entertaining, if any one could. There have not been wanting persons ill-natured enough to say, that the neglect into which this subject has fallen is nothing but the natural result of the intense stupidity which the writers of Latin verse have shown. This may be partly true, but still we think there might be extracted from the vast heaps of trash a few gems worthy of observation.

During the Dark Ages, the Latin language, although used as a vehicle for the transmission of thought, had no literary elegance. It was a barbarous dialect, and violations of grammar were so common as to attract no attention. Poetry did not fare much better than prose. The classic metres were forgotten, and in their place were substituted the Leonine verses, which were a sort of rhymed poetry, governed by accent instead of quantity, like our own. The famous drinking-song of old Walter de Mapes, beginning

“*Mihi est propositum in tabernâ mori,*”

is a specimen of this kind of poetry; as are also many of the Latin hymns of the Church. The “*Stabat mater dolorosa*” and the “*Dies iræ*” are well known.

At the revival of learning in the fifteenth century, Latin poetry was once more written after the classical style, with attention to the laws of prosody, and in imitation of the works of the writers of the Augustan age, which had just been disinterred from the dust of the monasteries. For a long time, the scholars of Europe disdained to use any other language than Latin, in poetry as well as prose. Had they any thing grand or pathetic to describe, the majestic hexameters of Virgil, the softer cadences of Ovid or Catullus, or the lyric beauty of Horace, were taken as the only true models. They little thought that the rude materials of the Italian, French, and English could ever be wrought into forms of as exquisite perfection as they then possessed in the remnants of classic eloquence and poetry. And for two centuries or more, poetry was written chiefly in Latin, notwithstanding the brilliant examples of the great Italian poets and the English Chaucer. This was the golden age of modern Latin poetry, for it was then a natural production. Afterwards, when the modern languages came into literary use, Latin poetry became more an amusement of scholars, and flourished chiefly in the great universities and seats of learning.

Petrarch is said to have been the first real restorer of polite letters. He was the first who had the taste to appreciate the beauties of Virgil and Cicero, and the ability to inspire others with his own admiration. From admiring, he was led to imitate ; and his Latin poems were much esteemed in his own days, and they are not without some beauty of thought and considerable sweetness of expression. It is related, that Petrarch was more proud of his Latin poem "*Africa*," on the second Punic war, than of all the Italian sonnets and *canzonieri* from which he derives his immortality. The only Latin poets of the fifteenth century of much distinction are Pontanus and Politian. Besides his poetical talent, Politian was the first scholar of the age, and in knowledge and appreciation of the authors of antiquity surpassed all his contemporaries. His elegy on the death of Ovid is very touching, and is expressed in a sweet and unaffected manner. We have essayed a translation.

ON THE DEATH OF OVID.

In years gone by, on Euxine shores a Roman bard lay dying ;
 In his dark grave in barbarous lands a Roman bard is lying ;
 In Scythia, where the Danube rolls his cold waves to the sea,
 The sweetest bard that ever sang of love sleeps tranquilly.
 More harsh than Scythian savages wert thou, O cruel Rome !
 Who left to die so great a son far from his distant home ;
 For none there were in those rude lands to soothe his dying bed,
 Console him with affection's words, and hold his throbbing head,
 Or help him with a leech's skill, while help could aught avail,
 Then close his dying eyes in peace, and soothe his dying wail.
 Ah ! none there were ; his ancient friends, withheld by stern decree,
 Were far away from Pontus, beyond a distant sea ;
 Ah ! none there were ; his children, wife, and all, were absent then,
 And none stood round his dying bed but tribes of savage men.
 None but the barbarous Bessi, the Corallian's yellow hair,
 And the stony-hearted Getæ, wrapped in their furs, were there.
 Yet e'en Sarmatian savages bewailed the poet dead,
 And the Gætian, in barbaric woe, wounded his mourning head.
 From the mountains, and the caverns, and the forests all around,
 And from Danube's sullen waters, came a melancholy sound.
 The Paphian queen with hurrying doves descended through the sky,
 And lit the waiting funeral-pyre where he was placed on high,
 And when the fury of the flames left nothing more to burn,

She placed the poet's ashes in a well-stopped funeral urn,
 Concealed it in the ground, and wrote upon the stone above, —
 "Here lies beneath a master of the tender art of love."

The beginning of the sixteenth century was distinguished by the splendid pontificate of Leo X., that famous patron of literature and the fine arts. Leo, besides his many other refined tastes, was a great admirer of Latin poetry, and its most brilliant period was in his times. We find the names of Cardinal Bembo, distinguished both in Latin and Italian literature, of Vida, Sannazarius, and Fracastorius, the three greatest names in modern Latin poetry, besides those of Naugerius and Flaminius, Castiglione, and a host of others too numerous to recount. Jerome Vida, the Bishop of Alba, is perhaps the best known of these, owing to the mention which Pope has made of him : —

"But see, each Muse in Leo's golden days
 Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays :

With sweeter notes each rising temple rung ;
 A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung !
 Immortal Vida ! on whose honored brow
 The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow :
 Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,
 As next in place to Mantua, next in fame !"

The juxtaposition of Cremona, Vida's birthplace, and Mantua, in the last two lines, is not as happy as Pope's complimentary turns of expression generally are. It was thought that Vida's imitation of Virgil was too close ; at any rate, the comparison it excited was rather injurious to the modern ; whence some witty person applied Virgil's famous line,

"Mantua, vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ !"

as a sarcasm upon the performances of the Italian bishop. The praise which Pope so liberally bestows on Vida was perhaps the effect of gratitude, for he has not scrupled to borrow from Vida in several places. The famous directions on adapting the sound to the sense, in Pope's "Essay on Criticism," are almost a literal translation of a passage in Vida's "Poetics." The description of the game of cards in the "Rape of the Lock" is imitated from a place in the "Schaccia Ludus," or "Game of Chess," a poem of the didactic order, ornamented with the usual quantity

of episodes, celebrating the rise and progress of that game in excellent Virgilian hexameters. Leo gave Vida a rich priory in Tusculum, that he might have leisure to devote himself to sacred subjects, and the result of his retirement was the "*Christiados*," a sacred epic in twelve books, which is about as readable as the "*Davideis*" of Cowley, or the "*Messiah*" of Klopstock.

Fracastorius was a physician, and was so much enamoured of his art, that he brought for its embellishment those ornaments which the muse of poetry can bestow. Although the disease which he wrote about is usually regarded as one of which the less is said the better, yet it is but fair to mention that he is thought by the critics to have treated his subject with great force and even sublimity. But however much we may applaud his execution, we can never be pleased with his taste in the choice of a subject. We will not, however, deny him his place at the head of the poetical disciples of Galen, a race of which the most unsuccessful certainly was he who in an evil hour inscribed upon his bottles, —

"When taken,
To be well shaken."

In the list of modern Latin poets, there are few whom we should be willing to place above Sannazarius. His thoughts have much sweetness and grace, and in purity, elegance, and harmony of versification he has scarcely ever been surpassed. His classical propriety of style and freedom from modern turns of expression strike one at once. Sannazarius was a loyal adherent of the fortunes of Ferdinand II., king of Naples, who, in return for his faithful friendship, gave him the beautiful villa of Margellina, on the shores of the Bay of Naples. Here the poet passed the evening of his days in sweet retirement, and the cultivation of his muse. His piscatory eclogues, which describe the fishermen of the Bay of Naples and their habits, are highly commended. Hallam says, "They breathe all the beauty and sweetness of the fair bay they describe." At least, it is a relief to have something a little new; and after the endless Corydons, Phillises, and Chloes of the pastoral poetry, it is pleasant to read about Galatea and Proteus sometimes. Sannazarius, from living on the Mediterranean, had a theoretical, rather than practical knowledge of tides; at any rate, he does not seem to have exactly comprehended the mystery; for in one eclogue, speaking of England, he says, —

“ Quâ (nisi vana ferunt) quoties maris unda recedit,
Indigenæ captant nudos per littora pisces.”

Besides these three greater names, there are many others which we cannot stop to write out, with the exception of M. Antæus Flaminus, who in sweetness and purity of style holds a high place among lyric and elegiac poets. We have translated an ode of his to some old friend, who, it appears, was amply blessed with happiness.

TO PETER VIPERA.

Happy old man ! how can I
Sing fitly your felicity ?
Your house, though small, is well arrayed
With furniture neatly made ;
Pictures, that e'en a master's eye
Would not hastily pass by :
A snug apartment, as to looks
Well enough, and shelves of books
Around its walls, — books that give
Precepts how to rightly live.
Your homely table's simple fare
Is furnished by the watchful care
Of your faithful servant's hand,
An old man affable and bland,
Whose little jokes you don't disdain
To hear and answer back again.
Added to such an ample store
Of blessings, you have one thing more, —
A pleasant garden, which I hear
Surpasses all the gardens near.
A green old age, an honest mind,
And morals pure, in you we find.
Your income, drawn from city near,
Amplly suffices for each year.
Whate'er torments an old man's life,
The fear of death, ambition's strife,
Are far away, for well you know
The good that pious deeds bestow ;
The blessings that on earth you have
You will not lose beyond the grave.
Happy old man ! how can I
Sing fitly your felicity ?

It is rather curious to see how much more successful the modern Latinists are in describing scenes of peace and quiet, and the felicities of rural life, (as in the poem we have just

quoted,) than when they attempt a more heroic strain. Then they are apt to become bombastic and unnatural. This may be owing to the fact, that this poetry was written chiefly by scholars, and most men can describe their own life better than they can imagine that of other people.

We have not room to speak of Lotichius, Beza, Sammarthanus, and the Scaligers, all esteemed great Latinists in their day; and only delay a moment to give an epigram of one of the brothers Amalthæi, which has been much admired. It is upon two beautiful twin children, who were so unfortunate as each to lose an eye, and it would seem difficult to turn such a defect into an occasion of compliment.

“ACON ET LEONILLA.

“Lumine Acon dextro, capta est Leonilla sinistro,
Et potis est formâ vincere uterque Deos.
Blande puer! lumen quod habes concede sorori,
Sic tu cæcus Amor, sic erit illa Venus.”

Translation.

“Acon and Leonilla each have lost an eye,
And each in beauty with the gods may vie.
Give to your sister your remaining eye, dear boy,
Blind Cupid's *you, she* 'll Venus' name enjoy.”

When we come to look at Dutch poetry, we are struck with the truth of the old proverb, “Give a dog a bad name,” etc. It appears to have been decided by the critics, that Dutchmen are not poetical, and so their fate is sealed. And yet Holland is not deficient in names of poets, especially Latin ones. First stands the disciple of Catullus, Joannes Secundus; then we find Barlæus, whose description of the nuptials of Adam and Eve Milton is said to have imitated; Donsa, Baudius, and Heinsius, whose elegies have been thought to fall not far behind Ovid, and whose tragedy on the “Massacre of the Innocents” certainly contains some very beautiful passages. Grotius, also, spared time from his more learned pursuits to write Latin verse. Indeed, so much did he love it, that, besides his original productions, he translated the Institutes of Justinian into hexameters, a species of amusement of which, luckily, our modern jurists are not fond. The largest part of Dutch poetry consists of gratulatory marriage verses and funeral lamentations, which were sometimes the spontaneous offering of friendship, but were more often

paid for in solid guilders. It is astonishing what a vast number of these verses still remain, all about the amours of ladies and gentlemen

“ with unpronounceable Dutch names,
And hearts with true love warm.”

The best of these poets is Secundus. He flourished near the beginning of the sixteenth century, and, after serving with much honor in various diplomatic functions, died at an early age, leaving behind a large quantity of amorous poetry. He appears to have been a very accomplished person, excelling in music, painting, and sculpture, as well as poetry; a sort of Dutch “Admirable Crichton.” His best work was his “Basia,” or “Kisses,” a collection of short pieces after the manner of Catullus. Some admirer of Secundus published a new edition of his “Basia” in 1803, with an essay on his life, and some translations in the true “Laura-Matilda” style of versification.

Before we leave the Dutch poets, we may say that violations of the rules of prosody are so common in the Latin poetry of the Middle Ages, that we ought hardly to select any one person for blame in this respect.

As the cultivation of the modern languages of Europe became more general, Latin versification declined, and in the seventeenth century was continued principally by the Jesuits. We find the names of Ceva, Sarbiewski, Huet, Santeul, Vaniere, the Abbé Ménage, and Rapin, whose didactic poem on Gardens Mr. Hallam speaks of in the highest terms. Sarbiewski was a Pole, who went to Rome, and was patronized by a brother bard, Cardinal Barberini. When Barberini was elevated to the pontificate, as Urban VIII., the grateful Sarbiewski, among a crowd of other gratulatory odes, wrote the following “To the Bees,” which form the armorial bearings of the house of Barberini, informing them that they might desist from labor, as the age of honey and sweetness, which had been foretold in some old prophecy, had come.

“AD APES BARBERINAS.

“Cives Hymetti, gratus Atticæ lepos,
Virginæ volucres,
Flavæque veris filiæ!

“Fures rosarum, turba prædatrix thymi,
Nectaris artifices,
Bonæque ruris hospitæ!

"Laboriosis quid juvat volatibus
Rus et agros gravidis
Perambulare crucibus,

"Si Barberino delicata principe
Sæcula melle fluant,
Parata vobis sæcula?"

Dr. Maginn has imitated this in his usual tasteful manner, preserving the spirit of the original very well, but making us regret that his translations are not more literal.

"TO THE BEES.

"Citizens of Mount Hymettus,
Attic laborers who toil,
Never ceasing till ye get us
Winter store of honeyed spoil!

"Nectar, ye, with sweets and odors,
Hebes of the hive, compose;
Flora's privileged marauders,
Chartered pirates of the rose!

"Gypsy tribe, gay, wild, and vagrant;
Winged poachers of the dawn;
Sporting in each meadow fragrant,
Thieving it on every lawn!

"Every plant and flower ye touch on
Wears, I ween, a fresher grace,
For ye form the proud escutcheon
Of the Barberini race.

"Seek no more with tuneful humming
Where the juicy floweret grows;
Halcyon days for you are coming,
Days of plenty and repose.

"Myrtle groves are fast distilling
Honey; honeyed falls the dew,
Ancient prophecies fulfilling
A millenium for you!"

The first Latin poetry of celebrity that England produced was May's Supplement to the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, carrying it down to the death of Cæsar. This is spoken of as being both an excellent imitation of Lucan, and a spirited poem in itself. Buchanan's version of the *Psalms*, particularly the

cxxxvii.th, has been much admired. Another Scotchman, Arthur Johnston, published later a version of the Psalms, thought to be nearly as good as that of Buchanan; but, in his extreme desire for classical diction, he has used such epithets, that it would be difficult to tell whether we were reading odes to the Hebrew Jehovah or the classic Jove. We remember having seen a translation of the book of Job into Latin verse, by some Scotch poet; but as it would have required the patience of Job to read it, we cannot speak from a personal knowledge of its merits.

Milton is the greatest poet of modern times who has attempted Latin verse, and his poems, although written at a very early age, hold a high rank among this class of productions. Hallam says concerning them,—"They are in themselves full of classical elegance, of thoughts natural and pleasing, of a diction culled with taste from the gardens of ancient poetry, of a versification remarkably well cadenced and grateful to the ear. There is in them, without a marked originality, which Latin verse can rarely admit but at the price of some incorrectness or impropriety, a more individual display of the poet's mind than we usually find." Warton thought that Ovid was Milton's model, but that his versification was "more clear, intelligible, and flowing; less desultory, less familiar, and less embarrassed with a frequent recurrence of periods." The wonder is, how a mind of the originality and vastness of Milton's could have contracted itself to such a species of imitative labor as Latin versification. It has always seemed to us that Milton has caught more of the true classic spirit in some of his English poems than in his Latin. We know not how we could convey to the unlearned reader a more just idea of the terse elegance of some of the odes of Horace than by referring him to some of Milton's sonnets, especially that to Mr. Lawrence, and that to Cyriac Skinner, beginning,—

"Cyriac, whose grandsire on the royal bench."

That particular excellence of the Latin, the power of saying much in few words, Milton has here.

Cowley wrote good Latin verses; his "*Epitaphium vivi Auctoris*" is very pleasing. Later, there are the Latin poems of Addison, which are also good, as might be expected from his intimate acquaintance with the whole range of Latin poetry. He has a purity of style, an easy flow of versifica-

tion, and an occasional touch of quiet humor, somewhat like that of Vincent Bourne. Christopher Smart, the translator of Horace, a man of considerable talent, wrote Latin poetry which was admired in his day. He translated Pope's *Essay on Criticism* into hexameters. The Latin versifiers of those days often tried their hands upon Pope, and one enthusiastic admirer, a Doctor Fitzpatrick, not satisfied with translating his works, Latinized his name also, after a singular fashion, astonishing us with a book purporting to be "*Poppii Carmina.*" Gray's Sapphics and Alcaics we used to admire, and think that they do not diminish his reputation as a lyric poet. His annotators, Warton and Wakefield, are also considered elegant Latin poets. Dr. Johnson, it has been sarcastically remarked, read the bad poetry of the Middle Ages, till he could no more distinguish the beauties of that of the Augustan age than an habitual drunkard can appreciate the flavor of delicate wines. However this may be, it is certain that his own Latin poetry is not very remarkable.

It would be very easy to select a long catalogue of distinguished Englishmen who have written Latin poetry, because this branch of study is so much cultivated at the great schools and universities. Every one who has received a classical education can make Latin verses of some sort or other, and in such a quantity there are occasionally found some that are rather good. The collections, "*Musæ Anglicanæ,*" "*Etonenses,*" and "*Cantabrigienses,*" occasionally afford something which repays the trouble of perusal; and a later one, the "*Arundines Cami,*" of which we have given the full title, and which was noticed in the *North American Review* some years ago, contains many very beautiful translations. The two great universities had a custom of pouring forth a multitude of Latin odes and elegies, whenever any one of the royal family was born, married, or died, and this course was followed by our own ancient seat of learning, which, before the war of the Revolution, used to send forth its regular volumes of hexameters, elegiacs, and sapphics, very little inferior, as far as we can see, to those of its namesake across the water.

We have pursued our subject far enough. These retrospective glances, though they may amuse for a time, are hardly in consonance with the onward spirit of the age we live in, whose energy reflects itself in its literature.

T. C. C.

ART. VIII. — MEMOIR OF CHANNING.*

WE have not waited in vain. The result of Mr. Channing's labors justifies the delay. It is here abundantly manifest that it was through no want of interest in his work, or of care in its performance, that these volumes have been so long in making their appearance.

When the intimate relation in which the biographer of Dr. Channing stood to his subject, and his well-known and enthusiastic devotion to a cause wellnigh as unpopular in this region as it is philanthropic, are considered, the judgment with which this work has been prepared becomes remarkable, and demands our emphatic commendation. In writing the life of a relative whom he venerated, in the holiest sense of the word, as a father, Mr. Channing has been in imminent peril of having his love of truth superseded by his affection. Yet while his language expresses a depth of veneration for his uncle which we should have been sorry to miss, and which shows that by no one was Dr. Channing more lovingly and reverently appreciated, he does not omit to note the limitations, as they must at least have appeared to him, by which certain stages in his spiritual history were marked. As an Associationist, also, a conspicuous and zealous advocate of doctrines which, whether true or false, we may safely say, are everywhere derided and spoken against without being understood, and with which, we presume, Mr. Channing identifies the highest truth and the purest Christianity, he was under no slight temptation to find in the writings of his uncle what authority he might for his own peculiar faith. But he has placed himself in the background. He has had no case to make out except to show Dr. Channing as he was. By this wisdom he must win for himself and for the peculiar opinions with which he is associated a respectful consideration, which no express argument that he could offer for the faith that he loves could possibly command.

We were quite unprepared for so minute and pleasing an account, as is contained in this Memoir, of Dr. Channing's early years. It is one of the chief excellences of the work. The picture of his youth, in its spiritual aspects, harmonizes

* *Memoir of William Ellery Channing, with Extracts from his Correspondence and Manuscripts. In three Volumes.* Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 427, 459, 494.

with all our impressions of him. The lineaments are the same throughout. There is the same gentleness, the same quietude, the same saintliness. It is always difficult, however, and it especially baffles one in his younger years, to conceive how it was, in regard to their outward appearance, in their youth, with those whom he has personally known only in their maturity. And in the case of Dr. Channing, the extreme slightness of his figure, indicating, as it would seem, great constitutional delicacy, had led our imagination far away from the idea of a bright-cheeked, curly-headed boy, and fixed in our mind the idea that his childhood must have been sickly. And yet we are not sure that we had not heard that he had once known the vigor and bloom of health. Still an impression has always remained with us, an impression which his personal appearance always renewed, that he was feeble from the first. The reader of these memoirs is struck, therefore, with the contrast "between the blooming picture of his boyhood" and "the wasted form, thin features, and sunken eyes of the preacher, whose spirit seemed about to cast aside the body." There is an unexpected charm, indeed, in the whole narrative, — in all the circumstances of Dr. Channing's early life, as they are described in the second chapter of the First Part of this work, in the character of his parents, in the natural scenery amidst which his boyish years were spent, in the reverend personages to whom he early looked up with awe, in the description of his influence and bearing among his playmates, — not forgetting the schoolmistress, an account of whom we have in Dr. Channing's own words, which we cannot resist the pleasure of quoting.

"I was a little amused," he writes in a letter, "with the objection which you say the —s made to your proposed school, that you want those essential qualifications of a teacher, — gray hairs and spectacles. This objection brought back to my mind the venerable schoolmistress under whose care my infant faculties were unfolded. She, indeed, would have suited the —s to a hair. Her nose was peculiarly privileged and honored, for it bore *two* spectacles. The locks which strayed from her close mob-cap were most evidently the growth of other times. She sat in a large easy-chair, and, unlike the insect forms of modern days, she filled the capacious seat. Her title was *Madam*, a title which she exclusively enjoyed. When we entered her door we kissed our hands, and *Madam* was the first word which escaped our lips. But I would not have you suppose that there was nothing but a title, and spectacles, and gray locks, to insure our respect.

Madam was wiser than the —s. She did not trust chiefly to age. On the right arm of her easy-chair there reclined what to common eyes appeared only a long round stick ; but so piercing was its vision, so quick its hearing, so rapid its motions, so suddenly did it reach the whispering or idle delinquent, that Ovid, had he known it, would have been strongly tempted to trace it, by many a strange metamorphosis, back to Argus, or some other watchful, sleepless being of ancient mythology. We, trembling wights, were satisfied with feeling, and had no curiosity to explore its hidden properties. Do you ask where this mysterious wand is to be found ? I fear it is irrecoverably lost. The storm of revolution, which has so lately passed over us, not contented with breaking the sceptres and hurling down the thrones of monarchs, burst into the school-room, and Madam's title and rod were swept away in the general desolation." — Vol. I. pp. 23, 24.

We are further and particularly indebted to this Memoir for showing us, as it does so fully, that the deep interest which Dr. Channing cherished in his latter years in the abolition of slavery, and which increased every year until this subject became the chief topic of his thoughts and his pen, was no sudden growth, but the natural offspring of a mind whose habitual and predominating principle was a love of freedom. We confess, that, with a deep sense of Dr. Channing's exalted character, we have still had the impression, produced by the distrust and disapprobation of the leading Abolitionists expressed in his earlier Antislavery publications, that he did not escape the influence of those popular prejudices which at one time infected nearly the whole community. But that he was utterly unconscious of any weakness impairing his judgment, that his earnest desire was to be just, is manifest, not only in that his censure of the Abolitionists was slight, and that, so far from urging what he accounted their errors as an excuse for his own silence, he was always growing in Antislavery zeal, but in various particulars stated in these memoirs. The testimony of Mrs. Child is striking.

"At every interview" with Dr. Channing, she remarks in a letter referring so far back as the year 1833, "I could see that he grew bolder and stronger on the subject, while I felt that I grew wiser and more just. At first I thought him timid, and even slightly timeserving ; but I soon discovered that I formed this estimate from ignorance of his character. I learned that it was justice to *all*, not popularity for *himself*, which made him so cautious. He constantly grew upon my respect, until I came to re-

gard him as the wisest, as well as the gentlest, apostle of humanity. I owe him thanks for preserving me from the one-sidedness into which zealous reformers are so apt to run. He never sought to undervalue the importance of Antislavery, but he said many things to prevent my looking upon it as the *only* question interesting to humanity. My mind needed this check; and I never think of his 'many-sided' conversations without deep gratitude.

"Dr. Channing's interest in the subject constantly increased, and I never met him without being struck with the progress he had made in overcoming some difficulty, which, for the time, troubled his sensitive conscience. I can now distinctly recollect several such steps. At one time he was very doubtful whether it were right to petition Congress. He afterwards headed a petition himself. In all such cases he was held back by the conscientious fear of violating some other duty, in endeavouring to do his duty to the slave. Some zealous reformers did not understand this; and thus construed into a love of popularity what was, in fact, but a fine sense of justice, a more universal love of his species." — Vol. III. pp. 154, 155.

We would gladly quote, in this connection, Mr. May's letter which follows the letter from Mrs. Child from which the foregoing is extracted; but we must content ourselves here with simply saying, that we know not which is more to be admired, the power and fidelity of the appeal which Mr. May made to Dr. Channing, or the simplicity and greatness with which it was received. From a letter written by Dr. Channing in 1835, it may be clearly perceived that his interest in the aim of the Abolitionists was in no degree lessened by his impression of their lack of wisdom.

"I have this moment seen in the Daily Advertiser," he writes, "that a meeting is to be held on Friday afternoon, in Boston, on the subject of slavery. I cannot but look forward to this meeting with great solicitude. I have seen with sorrow the influence of the unwise proceedings of Antislavery societies in impairing among us the true moral feeling in regard to this tremendous evil; and I cannot but fear that our citizens, in their zeal to oppose an extravagant party, may prove unfaithful to those great principles of freedom and equal rights on which our glory as a community rests. If the meeting will satisfy itself with pronouncing severe reprobation on any attempt to stir up the slaves to revolt, with deprecating the circulation of inflammatory pamphlets among them, and with disclaiming all desire in the North to interfere by any political action with slavery in the Slave States, no harm will be done. I am not aware, however, that the Antislavery societies

have advanced any principles, or adopted any measures, which call for such rebuke and such disclaimer. If they have, I shall not find fault with a public expression of reprehension, though the wisdom of such a censure may be doubted.

"But in attempting to put down a party, let not great principles be touched or compromised. Let it not be forgotten, that liberty is above all price, and that to rob a fellow-creature of it is to inflict the greatest wrong. Any resolve passed at the proposed meeting, implying, however indirectly, that a human being can rightfully be held and treated as property, — any resolve intended to discourage the free expression of opinion on slavery, or to sanction the lawless violence which has been directed against the Antislavery societies, — any resolve implying that the Christian and philanthropist may not strive to abolish slavery by moral influences, by appeals to the reason, conscience, and heart of the slaveholder, — any resolve expressing stronger sympathy with the slaveholder than with the slave, or tending at all to encourage the continuance of slavery, — will afflict me beyond measure." — Vol. III. pp. 167, 168.

It will be seen from this letter how distinctly Dr. Channing qualified his condemnation of the Abolitionists. He here explicitly acquits them of any design of stirring up the slaves to revolt, or of disseminating among them incendiary publications. At one time these were current charges against those obnoxious men, and they are still heard in various quarters, although they prove nothing but the ignorance and prejudice of those who urge them. His chief objection against the leaders of the Antislavery movement was the strength of their language. And yet, as his biographer fitly asks, "Might not his own words well have recurred to him in extenuation of what he thought their excesses? 'At such periods, men gifted with great powers of thought and loftiness of sentiment are especially summoned to the conflict with evil. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and, thus commissioned, and burning with passionate devotion to truth and freedom, they must and will speak with an indignant energy, and they ought not to be measured by the standard of ordinary minds in ordinary times. Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable, and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils, which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, and which marks God's most powerful messengers to

mankind, cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly, and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations,' " — " shaking the very earth," as George Fox says, " for twenty miles round." Standing, as we fancy ourselves while reading these memoirs, at the grave of our venerated friend, we are conscious of breathing no word in discordance with his sainted spirit, when we say, that, were he appealed to now, he would be prompt to acknowledge the help which he and all of us received from those who first addressed themselves to the abolition of slavery, the great work of our country and our day.

Another particular in regard to which this Memoir has impressed us deeply is Dr. Channing's activity, or, to use a homelier word still, his industry. We all saw that he was very frail. Before he rose in the pulpit, one wondered whence the strength to make himself heard in the large and crowded church was to come. And yet, so profound was the interest he awakened by his public ministrations, so great was the impatience to hear him, that even those who admired him most ardently, but whose personal acquaintance with him was slight, were apt to think that he nursed himself too tenderly. These memoirs satisfy us that he kept on the verge of his physical strength, — that he expended without stint all the health that he gained. We were, indeed, prepared for the full revelation in these pages of his activity, by what we witnessed of it on the occasion of one of his last visits to Philadelphia, when he wrote and delivered, amidst numerous distractions, within a space so brief that he must have filled it with labor, his *Lecture on the Universality of the Age* and his *Discourse on the Church*, each occupying about an hour and a half in the delivery. We can well understand how those " who were near him felt shamed by an energy, that, amidst such constant hindrances, accomplished so much."

" His seemingly inactive life was not a chosen, but an imposed, form of existence. Essentially, he was a person of strong will, keenly sensitive, large in affection, earnest in purpose, brave, though prudent, and indomitable in cheerful trust. Fluent in enthusiasm, guided on by a bright ideal, sympathizing profoundly with his race in their trials and struggles, refreshed in faith from on high, he was designed, apparently, to have poured abroad a river of good influence in varied action. But the accidents of birth in an age of unsettled opinions, and still more of a shattered constitution, diverted his energies into a broad, deep lake of con-

temptation. Regarding his life as a whole, and considering how he was hemmed in at once by speculative difficulties and bodily infirmity, it is indeed remarkable that he should have so identified himself with his fellow-men in all lands and conditions, and have made his power so widely felt." — Vol. III. p. 388.

It is interesting, also, to perceive — what, indeed, was apparent to all who enjoyed any personal acquaintance with Dr. Channing — how he was continually growing. His youthfulness, instead of vanishing, as it usually does, increased with the increase of years. Latterly he seemed to take a new pleasure in social intercourse. It could not well have been otherwise than that he should grow ; for the life of his life was not a doctrine or a form, but a spirit ; and growth, expansiveness, is an essential property or characteristic of the spirit. To the spirit of truth, of freedom, and humanity, his whole life was a steady and cheerful offering. So long as the spirit of free thought was connected with the conflict about doctrines, — with the Unitarian controversy, — that controversy interested him. When it took another shape and made its appeal through the despised and injured African, then it took possession of his whole heart. No opinions, however extravagant, alarmed him, so long as he was satisfied that they indicated intellectual life and freedom. He could see and honor the heroism of those with whose bold utterances he had no sympathy. Mr. Channing alludes to the rumors, that went abroad shortly after his uncle's decease, of his change of faith. We have thought that we knew how those rumors arose. We have heard Dr. Channing, in his later years, say that he cared little for mere doctrinal Unitarianism ; the great social principles of Christianity, the cause of humanity, interested him more. It is easy to see how remarks of this sort, coming to the ears of those who consider a lack of interest in Unitarianism as equivalent to an increased interest in opposite forms of faith, should produce the impression of such a change in Dr. Channing as was at one time reported. Dr. Channing's sympathies with his fellow-men were in no degree restricted. There are philanthropists, and zealous ones too, who look with indifference, if not with contempt, upon all modes of benevolence except that to which they are specially devoted. The genuineness of Dr. Channing's philanthropy appears in the welcome which he gave to all laborers in the field of the world, let their special objects be what they might.

It seems to be generally, and, as we conceive, justly thought, that Dr. Channing's power and the attendant celebrity lay, not in any special originality of mind, but in the singular beauty and fervor with which he gave expression to the highest thoughts of the time, — to thoughts which were beginning to germinate everywhere. He was, to an extent far beyond any other writer of the day, the voice proclaiming what a large and rapidly increasing portion of society were growing restless to utter. It was not surprise or admiration at the novelty of his views which his writings awakened, but an unmixed delight at having, what all who read his discourses with interest were beginning more or less distinctly to think and feel, so worthily expressed. And the aid which he has rendered in the advancement of men's minds consists rather in showing us where we stand, the broad and solid ground we occupy, than in preceding us. Delighting in large general views, he raised his readers to a lofty height, and we were made to see the grand world we live in, and the benignant Providence bending over us. As he thus stimulated the best tendencies of the age by furnishing them with an eloquent articulation, it is apparent, at the same time, that by these tendencies his modes of thought and expression were in a measure formed. So far as he was a creator of the present period in the history of thought and opinion among us, he became so by being its creation. His style of writing shows traces occasionally of the grandiloquence, "the western orientalism," so characteristic of our country and our day. And his favorite topics of thought were evidently caught in part from those hints of greatness and promise given by the higher sentiments and aspirations of our nature in the revolutions of the century and the rapidly increasing improvements in the arts of life.

A partial illustration of the foregoing remarks may be found in Dr. Channing's relation to the Unitarian denomination. The growth of liberal sentiments in New England, and here and there throughout the country, dates from before his time. But Unitarians were not extensively known as a religious body in America until the publication of his discourse at the ordination of Mr. Sparks in Baltimore, in 1819. That discourse contained a formal annunciation and distinct embodiment of Unitarianism. The elements of the liberal body, previously to some extent mixed up and held in solution with Orthodoxy, were instantly crystallized, and from that moment the division lines were firmly drawn. The

discourse was not characterized by any great novelty or boldness of statement, nor did it present views imposing for their originality ; but it was a lucid and felicitous expression of opinion, faithfully representing the state of mind at which a large portion of the community had arrived. It was the word in season distinctly uttered. And those whose views it stated immediately breathed more freely, and knew where they stood, and felt that a step had been taken in the onward way. Bolder statements, statements more accordant with the opinions existing at subsequent periods, have certainly been made since, if they were not made before. Dr. Channing might himself, we presume, at a later period, have given, not an opposite, but a somewhat different, account of his theological position ; still the Baltimore sermon was the word for the time, expressing just what was needed. It gave its author the name of leader and head of the Unitarian denomination in this country, although we had far more accomplished theologians, and no individual was farther from claiming any authority in matters of opinion. He very rarely occupied himself with doctrinal discussions. Upon the mere letter of the Unitarian faith, no one could have exerted, or sought to exert, less influence. But its spirit, the life and principle of progress in the Unitarian movement in this country, has been aided by no other so vigorously. Indeed, Dr. Channing, a Unitarian, liberal Christian, in full communion with the Unitarian denomination, was never the apostle of a doctrine or a sect. In 1815, he wrote thus :—" Christianity, we must always remember, is a temper and a spirit, rather than a doctrine."* This he never forgot. The sentiment here expressed is a pervading principle in all his writings. To reveal and apply the spirit of Christianity, those truths which are sources of life and elevation to the character of men, was the object always kept in view. When he discussed doctrines, it was always in their connection with those grand central principles of life and character, which no writer of our day more profoundly appreciated or more eloquently set forth. Not by logic or criticism did he accelerate the growth of liberal opinions. More, we believe, was done for Unitarianism, for the promotion of liberal modes of thinking, for, in fact, the spirit of Christianity itself, so far as that has been connected with Unitarianism, by his secular writings, his essays

* *Memoir*, Vol. I. p. 379.

on Milton and Napoleon, for instance, (the former of which was first published in this journal in 1826,) than by all his theological writings, — we might almost say, more than has been done by all the doctrinal and controversial productions of the denomination put together. And this in part because subjects which were not peculiar and professional, but of universal interest, afforded him the best occasion for the demonstration, in his own eloquent way, of those high and comprehensive modes of thought in which he took such great delight.

And here we are led to remark, generally, that whatever respect the Unitarian body has commanded, whatever power it has exercised among the liberalizing influences of the day, must be attributed, we apprehend, less to the theological and doctrinal works, various and able as they are, which have proceeded from the denomination, than to the writings of a few distinguished individuals of the sect upon other subjects than theology. The representatives of a religious denomination are always, from the circumstance of their position, clergymen. As their attention is exclusively confined to theological topics, and they seldom or never write on other subjects, intelligent men of other professions and pursuits have scanty means of ascertaining what reason there may be for the high reputation which a clergyman may have for learning, intellect, or genius. The whole subject of theology is, or is supposed to be, so involved in mystery, its phraseology is so ambiguous, that intelligent laymen, unless they happen to be particularly interested in the question in dispute, (and then their judgment is apt to be committed,) will hardly undertake to decide what amount of intellectual ability is shown in a theological discussion. A clergyman must quit his polemics, and turn and speak on some more familiar and popular subject, before it can be determined what manner of man, intellectually speaking, he is. As the case has been, there are few things more factitious than the intellectual reputation of the clergy. A member of this profession may be highly extolled as a man of many and wonderful parts, while his sole gift (if gift it be, and no mere trick or sleight-of-hand) is the power of fluent utterance, captivating that sex whose sensibilities are oftentimes more voluble than discriminating. As there is no power wielded by mortal man so great as that of eloquence, it continually happens, that, if a man possesses or appears to possess it, in ever so

humble measure, he instantly has credit given him for every grace and gift under heaven. Thus, in the goodness of their hearts, the multitude have conspired to extol the clergy, until this class would seem to have monopolized all the learning and wisdom of the land. Hence it is that the colleges and universities which no man can number, and which appear to have come, over all the West, like reading and writing, by nature, are incessantly drawing upon the clergy to fill their presidential and professorial chairs. Under these circumstances, we cannot help thinking that there must lurk, among intelligent men of other professions, a skepticism as to the soundness of the reputation so often enjoyed by clergymen for learning and intellectual ability. Indeed, there are many and melancholy indications that this most important class do not have the hold upon the respect of the community which they are presumed to have, and which they should have, if they possessed the talent and learning often ascribed to them. At all events, nothing has tended so effectually to raise the Unitarian body in the respect of the world at large, as the intellectual power and lofty habits of thinking evinced particularly in those writings of Dr. Channing to which we have referred, and the rare mental culture apparent in the writings of other Unitarian clergymen, some still living, whom we might name. The service thus rendered to Liberal Christianity was incidental and undesigned, but none the less substantial on that account. In portraying the genius of the loftiest of the poets, in arraigning the greatest soldier of the world, Dr. Channing manifested an eloquence of language, an intellectual power, and a perception of truth and beauty, which made themselves to be widely felt. The religious body with which he was associated shared in the respect which he inspired. But by looking only to the estimation which was thus won for the Unitarian denomination, we see only half the good that was done. In every mind in which the sentiment of respect was awakened, displacing bigotry and prejudice, the very life of Christianity was breathed. No better work can be done, — none certainly that Dr. Channing was more interested in doing, — than to bring men to honor their fellow-men. He rendered no greater service.

The reference which we have just made to those essays, by which Dr. Channing's literary fame was suddenly and widely expanded, calls to mind one of the most peculiar and

interesting aspects of his character, his utter indifference to literary reputation. He could not bring himself to read the reviews which were published of his works, even though they appeared in the most celebrated journals of the day, and were understood to come from the pens of eminent men. He wrote and he published for the sake of what he held to be momentous truth, and, so that the truth was diffused, he was willing to be praised or blamed. He was sorry to be found fault with, only as it might deter people from the truth which it had been his aim to present. No one could speak to him about his writings, without perceiving that this was the temper of his mind. His style of writing, also, shows that literary renown was no object with him. While it recommends itself to a pure taste, and manifests care and polish, and shows traces, as we have intimated, of the sort of writing so fashionable in these days, and so apt to run into declamation, yet one sees in it everywhere a chastened fancy. He is never run away with by a metaphor. His figures of speech are merely hinted at, never elaborately wrought out. In all his writings we can now recall but one passage in which the mere figure by which his thoughts is expressed strikes us for its beauty and completeness, although we cannot read any one page in which the fancy is not stimulated by forms of speech that suggest more than they appear to express. In his Lecture on the Universality of the Age, he speaks of the kite, by which Franklin drew the lightning from the skies, as remaining visible to the eye of posterity, through the night of time, long after the city where he dwelt should be a buried ruin. But what we wish to say is far better said in his memoirs. We quote the following passages, because they state so distinctly what we have ourselves felt was the truth in regard to Dr. Channing's literary character. They strike us as eminently just. After giving extracts from various letters in which Dr. Channing expresses the estimate he had formed of his own labors in a literary point of view, his biographer observes : —

“It thus appears how incidentally Dr. Channing entered the sphere of literature. The *ethical* element was the predominant one in his nature ; and although his love of beauty was too strong, independent [independently] of overmastering enthusiasm, ever to have permitted him to be a mere dilettante, it was not so active as to make him dissatisfied until he had concentrated into a symmetric work of art his thought and emotion. He was too

earnest as a prophet to waste hours, which were only too swift in their flight for one so feeble, upon giving form to the inspiring truth which he knew he was called to communicate. Fully aware as he was, too, that he had attained but to glimpses of most glorious realities, he could not be so presumptuous and irreverent as to attach an unreal value to what he humbly regarded as fragmentary suggestions; and the conceptions struggling within him, over which he delightedly brooded, in meditative days and wakeful nights, were so sweet and majestic, that any portraiture of them would have seemed incomplete and unfinished. He could give, at the best, but a sketch of his meaning, like a child's rough outline of some statue or landscape. His chief care, therefore, was, to be true; and he left his expression to take its hue and shape spontaneously. A glance at his manuscripts shows how unlabored was his style. The corrections are, for the most part, erasures; and, where words are exchanged for others, in all cases, it is by substitution of a simple phrase for a composite one. Systematically, from even early years, he disciplined his fancy to severe soberness; though any one who knew him intimately could not but see how richly stored were his galleries of thought with exquisite natural images. He feared that the sense of the hearer or reader would be lured from the aspect of truth to the splendor of her robes by the use of metaphor, and so habitually checked his instinctive propensity to present laws and principles by the medium of symbols. His effort was, to utter himself plainly.

"And in the last era of his life, until within a very few years before his death, he had the same disinclination to make any special call upon the attention of his fellow-men. Apart from the restraints of his native modesty, and the influence of his lofty ideal, measured by whose standard most of the literature of the age appeared tame and frivolous, he was so eager to climb to serener heights, that it satisfied him to send forth a cheering cry to brethren struggling upwards through the shadows, as prospects of beauty opened amidst the fog. His publications were still occasional addresses, drawn from him by request. Friends urged him continually to embody his thoughts in a more permanent form, to which he replied, that they were not quite ripe. And when besought at least to revise, select, and print in a volume what he had already given to the public, he could not be prevailed upon to think it of sufficient importance to authorize his expending on such work hours which he felt bound to consecrate to progressive inquiry.

"At length the desire to aid in giving a higher tone and securing a wider sphere of influence to the Christian Disciple, which

in 1824 was enlarged, and took a new form under the name of the *Christian Examiner*, drew from him some essays, which attained a most unlooked-for celebrity, and made him universally known in the world of letters. The attention excited by these papers was a great surprise to him, and he always considered the estimate placed upon them by the public exaggerated. These hasty effusions, which, considered as literary models, he valued but little, let a sympathizing reader very deeply into the essential spirit of the man. His tender sensibility, delicacy of taste, chivalric heroism, loyal love of truth, high integrity, expansiveness, aspiration, pervade the notice of the sublime poet and stern republican. His profound veneration for man, grand estimate of the end and method of life, and devout confidence in God's infinite purposes of benignity to his human family, give to his searching analysis of the springs of action in the military despot an awful sincerity; and as the culprit is brought before the piercing eyes of the congregated spiritual world, stripped of the tinsel rags of false glory, pity prompts the reader to recall every good trait and deed, as a mantle to cover his shame. The uncompromising conscience of the writer here appears with the grave, firm aspect of an impartial judge upon the bench." — Vol. II. pp. 334 – 339.

So devoid was Dr. Channing of all concern for literary distinction, and so manifest was his insensibility in this regard, that one was all but invited to criticize his literary productions in his presence with entire freedom. At least, all apologies for so doing were felt to be out of place. There was no danger of wounding his vanity, for there was none to be wounded. We recollect, that, upon remarking to him, on one occasion, that the criticism in the *Edinburgh Review*, attributed to Lord Brougham, and singular for the care with which it was restricted to one essay of Dr. Channing's, that on Milton, and to one sentiment expressed in that essay, struck us on the whole as just, he replied, "I think it very likely; I have never read the article." A previous review of his works had appeared in the same celebrated journal, which was attributed to Mr. Hazlitt, and was marked by the passionate ill-will and eagerness to disparage, so characteristic of the man. It threw not a shadow of irritation over Dr. Channing's mind. Mr. Hazlitt, nevertheless, interested him greatly, and still stood high in his opinion, as a writer of no ordinary power. It may be doubted whether another instance can be found of an individual arresting so much attention in the literary world, and yet claiming no place there, finding

himself a literary man by accident. The laurels that were showered upon him he took not the slightest pains to gather or preserve. If they appeared to be falling off, he did not even carry himself with the slightest care to keep them on. If a hand was extended to pluck them from him, he showed no sign of resistance, nor did a shade of mortified vanity ever darken those thoughtful and beaming eyes. If his distinguished reviewers thought to wound and humble him, as, from their occasional strength of phrase, would seem to have been their design, never was expectation more completely disappointed. He barely knew of their assaults; they fell far short of his equanimity. He thought even less of the arrows that were discharged at him than the lion of the dew-drops on his mane, for he never stirred to shake them off.

We are the more impressed with this trait in Dr. Channing's character, because, as we apprehend, it is to be accounted for only in one way. He had a keen relish for literary truth and beauty. We remember how his face lightened up as he pronounced Charles Lamb's English the purest of these modern times. Why, then, was he so indifferent to his own literary celebrity? Mainly because he was a great deal more than a mere literary man. His whole being was wrapped up in the cause of those sacred and beneficent truths by which souls are to be saved, and nations revolutionized, and the whole world blest. He dwelt in a world hung round, not with the fading chaplets of human renown, but with crowns of unfading glory. He was listening in the secrecy of his own thoughts to the ravishing music of voices speaking better things than the praises of men.

After all, whatever consideration Dr. Channing gained and whatever power he exerted by his writings, his chief sphere of influence during the larger part of his life was the pulpit. There he stood to the community in a relation of which they who never shared in its privileges can scarcely form an idea. Of his power as a preacher, neither do these memoirs, full and interesting as they are, nor could any that might be written, convey an adequate impression. The eloquence of his writings survives him, the printed page breathes his spirit; but the eloquence of his speech, — of his manner, his appearance, his tones, — that has vanished with him, or lingers, for a brief space, in the memory of those whose happiness it is to have heard him. Our regret on this account is unavailing, since it could not be otherwise. It is often so. It was so

when Henry Ware died, and Mr. Greenwood, and Mr. Buckminster. Apart from the influence of their characters, their power as servants in the public cause of truth lay, not in the power of intellect, not in any peculiar depth of thought, but in the irresistible attraction of their utterance. Do they not still live with those who used to listen to them, chiefly by those moving tones which float now in our remembrance like angel-voices overheard? And it must always be that the power of the spoken word cannot be described. It is, and must be, confined to those who hear it. Yet we cannot help wishing it were within our ability to give to those who never enjoyed the privilege of hearing Dr. Channing some idea of the impressiveness of his public ministrations. The attempt, we know, is vain. We take leave, however, to state briefly our own impressions of Dr. Channing in the pulpit, because we think that there he was truly original and great, like no other.

The same indifference which he showed to literary fame appeared so plainly in him, also, in regard to his fame as a preacher, that no one who knew him could style him a pulpit orator, or use any phrase, in describing his power as a preacher, indicative of any acquired or artificial grace. All such modes of speaking are felt to lack congruity with the character of the man.

"The seriousness of his deportment, the depth and sweetness of his voice, the pathos with which he read the Scriptures and sacred poetry, the solemnity of his appeals, his rapt and kindling enthusiasm, his humble, trustful spirit of prayer, his subdued feeling, so expressive of personal experience, made religion a new reality; while his whole air and look of spirituality won the devoutly disposed to listen by its mild and somewhat melancholy beauty. The most trifling saw in him a man thoroughly in earnest, who spoke not of dreams and fictions, but of facts with which he was intimately conversant; and the serious gladly welcomed one who led the way and beckoned them nearer to the holy of holies which they aspired to enter. Intellectual people, too, were attracted by the power and grace of his pulpit addresses." — Vol. i. p. 205.

The most singular thing in his utterance was the extraordinary flexibility of his voice, its vast and "undulating" variety of modulation. It seemed to us like one of those delicate scientific instruments, invented to detect and measure

the subtlest elements in nature, and sensitive to the slightest influence, — as, for instance, those nicely adjusted scales which vibrate under the small dust on the balance or the weight of a hair. It rose and fell so strangely in the course of the simplest and most commonplace sentence, in the utterance of a single word often, that his hearers felt immediately that here was a speaker of a novel kind, and they watched to see how he could possibly become, according to any ordinary sense of the word, eloquent. If our readers who were wont to hear him will recall the word “immortality” as spoken by Dr. Channing, they will understand what we endeavour to describe. His style of speaking, from this peculiarity, was instantly felt to be his own, — not the product of any art, but the gift of nature ; if indeed it could be thought a gift, and not a misfortune, when only its singularity was apparent, before its capabilities were witnessed and its wondrous power felt. There was no want of firmness in his tones, and yet they fluctuated continually. And the power of his voice lay in this, that, being thus flexible, it was true to every change of emotion that arose in his mind. How vividly do we remember, in a sermon in which he spoke of young men lounging on the steps of a hotel, what an unfathomable depth of mingled pity and contempt was expressed in that one word “hotel” as he uttered it ! It seemed to us at the time, that, if one had wished to write out the word as he spoke it, and so to give an idea of the power with which it was uttered, the whole wall of the church in which it was spoken would not have been large enough for the purpose. So, also, in the expression of tenderness, devotion, and awe, the tones of Dr. Channing’s voice conveyed and awakened those sentiments with such power, that the heavens seemed to open over our heads and a silence in itself awful filled all the place. But we must avail ourselves of the vivid words of his biographer.

“And now let us go, on some Sunday morning, to the meeting-house in Federal Street, and hear for ourselves this wonderful preacher. The doors are crowded ; and as we enter, we see that there are but few vacant seats, and that the owners of the pews are hospitably welcoming strangers, whom the sexton is conducting up the aisles. There is no excitement in the audience, but deep, calm expectation. With a somewhat rapid and an elastic step, a person small in stature, thin and pale, and carefully enveloped, ascends the pulpit stair. It is he. For a moment he deliberately and benignantly surveys the large congregation, as

if drinking in the influence of so many human beings; and then, laying aside his outer garments, and putting on the black silk gown, he selects the hymn and passage from Scripture, and, taking his seat, awaits in quiet contemplation the time for commencing the service. What impresses us now, in his appearance, is its exceeding delicacy, refinement, and spiritualized beauty. In the hollow eye, the sunken cheeks, and the deep lines around the mouth, the chronic debility of many years has left an inefaceable impress. But on the polished brow, with its rounded temples, shadowed by one falling lock, and on the beaming countenance, there hovers a serenity which seems to brighten the whole head with a halo.

"The voluntary on the organ has been played, the opening invocation has been offered by the assistant in the pulpit, and the choir and congregation have joined in singing the first hymn;—and now he rises, and, spreading out his arms, says,—‘Let us unite in prayer.’ What a welcome to near communion with the Heavenly Father is there in the tremulous tenderness of that invitation! This is a solemn reality, and no formal rite to him. The Infinite is here, around all, within all. What awful, yet confiding reverence, what relying affection, what profound gratitude, what unutterable longing, what consciousness of intimate spiritual relationship, what vast anticipations of progressive destiny, inspire these few, simple, measured, most variously modulated words! How the very peace of heaven seems to enter and settle down upon the hushed assembly!

"There follows a pause and perfect silence for a few moments, which the spirit feels its need of, that it may reassume its self-control and power of active thought. And now the Bible is opened; the chapter to be read is the fifteenth of the Gospel of John. The grand announcement is spoken, the majestic claim is made,—‘I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.’ How often we have heard these sentences! and yet did we ever before begin to know their exhaustless wealth of meaning? What depth, volume, expressiveness, in those intonations! ‘That *my joy* might remain in you, and that your joy might be *full*.’ No mere rhetorician, however trained and skilful, could have made these words so penetrating in pathetic sweetness, so invigorating in unbounded hope. The very smile and hand of the Saviour seem to have been upon us in blessing and power. The hymn is read. What melody! What cadence! The tone may be too prolonged, and too undulating the accent; but we can never, never again forget those lines

"The singing is over. The hearts of the hearers are attuned. The spirit of the preacher has already pervaded them, and softened them to harmony. It is the ‘new commandment’ of which he is

to discourse. He begins by portraying the overflowing sympathy with which Jesus forgot his own impending sufferings, in his desire to cheer the little band so soon to be scattered. We are there with them in the upper chamber; we are bathed in that flood of benignity. . . . Thus ends the first branch of the sermon. And now he is to assure us, all selfish, immersed in the busy anxieties of life, habitually incased in prejudices and conventionality, as we may be, that this spirit of unlimited brotherly kindness is the only befitting spirit for any man, for every man. . . . How carefully he meets and disarms objections! How calmly he removes all fear of undue enthusiasm! How deliberate and definite does he make the statement of his propositions! . . . Gradually he awakens the memory and conscience of his hearers, and reveals to them, from their own observation and experience, with a terrible distinctness of contrast, what the professed Christians of Christendom actually are. There are no expletives, no fulminations, no fanatical outpourings. But the small figure dilates,—the luminous gray eye now flashes with indignation, now softens in pity,—and the outstretched arm and clenched hand are lifted in sign of protest and warning, as the wrongs which man inflicts on man are presented with brief but glowing outlines.” — Vol. II. pp. 289–293.

There is in one of the volumes of Dr. Channing's printed works a discourse on Immortality. We recollect hearing, when it was first preached, that, at the close of certain passages, the whole audience were heard to draw breath. The same effect was remarked years afterwards, when the same discourse was delivered in New York. He used no excessive or artificial gesticulation. Such gestures as he made were, indeed, not *made*, — they were evidently the result of unconsciousness, in themselves neither awkward nor graceful. There was a sensibility in the expression of his eyes, which touched and attracted us long before we were old enough to know what it was in his countenance that so won us. The great charm of his manner as a speaker lay, however, in his intonations, in the deep spiritual expression of his voice. This, connected with the peculiar simplicity and beauty in which his thoughts rose and clothed themselves in words, established a perfect communion between him and his hearers. As the sentiments he uttered passed into their minds, you saw the electric flash accompanying the communication in their illuminated countenances. One felt, in listening to him, “as if,” to use the happy expression of Mr. Norton in his notice of Mr. Buckminster, “he were following in the tri-

umphant procession of truth." We cannot soon forget the impression made on the occasion of the lecture which he delivered before the Mercantile Library in Philadelphia. The place, the most spacious hall in the city, was thronged. His wide-spread reputation had preceded him. At first he was listened to with mere curiosity, but, as he went on, so deep was the silence, so frequent, so sudden, and yet so instantly suppressed, were the expressions of assent and applause, that one could not but feel that he was descending into the depths of his hearers' hearts, and awakening their noblest sentiments. "Why did he stop?" exclaimed one, as the people were retiring at the close of the lecture; "why did he not go on, and tell us what he thought about every thing?"

A similar question might have been asked, when his voice ceased altogether, and he was withdrawn from us by death. Alas! how sore is the need now, at home and abroad, of men who shall address and quicken our consciences in these disordered and bewildering times, not by telling us any thing new, but by reiterating the monitions of simple human duty! It is the great and world-wide want; — not celebrated men, — any man can be celebrated now-a-days; — but good men and true, with earnest hearts and large intellect and eloquent speech, to redeem us from utter folly. We pray for the appearance of such men. And until they come, we would cherish the memory of those who have left us, and make that a fountain of light and life. There are many among us who owe more than they can tell to Dr. Channing, who received from him impressions never to be erased. May his memory still dwell with us, and may all into whose hands this Memoir shall fall, recalling his saintly and venerable presence, consecrate themselves anew to that great cause of humanity which had his whole heart!

W. H. F.

ART. IX. — REV. OLIVER W. B. PEABODY.

THE recent death of one widely known as a man of fine intellectual powers, very dearly regarded in the circle of his personal friends, and highly esteemed as a Christian minister, calls on us to give some narrative of his life, and to attempt some record of the more prominent points of his character.

Oliver William Bourne Peabody was born at Exeter, N. H., on the 9th of July, 1799. He was twin brother of the late Rev. William Bourne Oliver Peabody, and, like him, bore the names of his father, the late Judge Peabody, and of his mother's father, Hon. William Bourne. The brothers grew up together, together were educated by Dr. Abbot in the academy of their native town, and together entered Harvard College, in 1812. From the moment of their birth to that of their separation, the last year, by the death of Dr. Peabody of Springfield, they were bound together by the closest attachment, and by a striking sympathy in tastes, which was marked by such occasional differences of temperament as strengthened and gave beauty to the union. The very strong personal resemblance between the two, which all their friends observed, was not more remarkable than this close union of sympathies and aims, which always lasted through difference of pursuits and of homes, and to which we now look back as if it were a forewarning to us that in death they would not long be parted.

The brothers entered college at an age now considered early, but even at that period Mr. Oliver Peabody showed traits of character and fancy which have since been familiar to his friends. "He was," in the words of one of his early friends, "a most amiable, pleasant young man, full of wit and most irresistible humor, with a keen sense of the ludicrous, and the power to communicate it to others. He had a love and talent for music, and played the flute and sang very agreeably. He was also fond of drawing, and sketched with great spirit and delicacy. He was always a most delightful companion, his conversation most agreeable, enriched as it was from his wide reading, from which he always had at hand the most apt illustrations."

On leaving college, Mr. Peabody studied his father's profession, under his father's direction, at Exeter. He spent some time, also, at the Law School in Cambridge, before he was admitted to the bar in New Hampshire. He then began the practice of the law in his native town. In the eleven years which followed, he was not confined to the cares of his profession alone. He was a member of the State legislature, and at different times took the editorial charge of the Rockingham Gazette and the Exeter News-Letter. In the files of these papers are articles from his pen sparkling with vivacity and humor. These, and other essays and

poems, which he published then and afterwards in various journals, are distinguished no less for brilliancy and freshness of thought than for a certain polished accuracy of style, the result of his patient and diligent care. Always nice in expression, always accurate in style, he was never formal, dull, or commonplace. His mind never lost that eagerness for fresh combinations, and for a distinct, unabused point of view, which had given to him his early humor and love of the ludicrous. This was the reason that he wrote so little in comparison with the great army of what are called literary men. But, for the same reason, there is scarcely any thing which he has written that is not worthy of publication, and that did not fully answer its purpose, whether to rouse a laugh as coming from the carrier of a newspaper, or as an episode in political controversy, or as demanding thought and study, when published in a review or delivered before a lyceum. We have had a crowd of essayists, in late years, who have sustained or weighed down the journals of the day. Mr. Peabody, in the years of his life of which we speak, and for some years afterwards, was called to the duty which they attempt. Many of his fellow-workmen wrote much more than he ; but very few of them wrote so much that was never "skipped over" by weary readers, or that will be so long remembered. Many of our readers will recollect the poem which he delivered at Cambridge before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, in 1823. When the citizens of Portsmouth celebrated the second centennial anniversary of that town, he delivered a poem which is still remembered with pleasure. He had early shown his poetical genius and facility of versification, — talents which he always possessed, though he used them too little. He and his brother each delivered a poem when they graduated at Cambridge, and there are several poems among the published papers to which we have alluded.

In 1830, Mr. Peabody removed to Boston, which was his home for most of the remainder of his life. His brother-in-law, Mr. A. H. Everett, was then the editor of the *North American Review*, and Mr. Peabody acted as a constant and valuable assistant to him in that duty. Till near the close of his life he was an occasional contributor to that journal, and for some years there is scarcely a volume which does not contain one or more articles from him. At the same time, for several years, he was an assistant editor of

the Boston Daily Advertiser, and some of his most pointed essays were published in that paper, as from time to time they were called forth by the changing aspects of political or literary affairs. There are certain duties of an editor's life for which he was peculiarly fitted. His very wide general information, frequently relating to subjects where the most careful books of reference are dumb and all indexes useless, served him especially, when called upon, as the editor of a daily journal constantly is, to illustrate unexpected movements and explain new events on the shortest notice.

Mr. Peabody served for two or three years as a member of the Massachusetts legislature. In the year 1836, he was appointed Register of Probate in Suffolk county. He filled the duties of this office until 1842. It is a laborious post, requiring, under the probate arrangements of this State, the constant personal attention of the incumbent, and close labor from him, if only as a copyist. But Mr. Peabody found time for literary studies and occupations. His daily exercise was made the means of that study of nature which he always loved. And, while both faithful and popular in an employment which is certainly not the most refreshing or invigorating, he was still to his friends, and to any whom he could serve, as full of spirit and life as he had ever been when engaged in more exciting daily duties. His health, however, always delicate, was impaired by the labors of the office, and in 1842 he resigned it, on accepting from Jefferson College, an institution endowed and supported by the State of Louisiana, an appointment as Professor of English Literature. He entered on the duties of this post in the autumn of that year. But the climate of Louisiana proved unfavorable to his constitution, and, unwilling to contend longer with the lassitude which it induced, he resigned his professorship the next year, and returned to the North.

It was at as recent a period as this that he entered directly upon the sphere of life which commends him especially to the interest of the readers of the Examiner. For many years, perhaps, he had wished to engage in the Gospel ministry. From his early days he had lived under high and pure religious influences, the result of clear and well-sustained religious convictions; and of late years his reading had more and more taken that turn which would especially prepare him for the duties of a Christian minister. On returning from the South, he immediately carried out his intention of

entering the ministry, and continued without interruption the studies which, with that view, he had thus begun. His residence at this time was sometimes in Boston, and sometimes in Springfield, with his brother. While in Boston, he acted as the Secretary of the "Emigrant Society," as long as that valuable society was in existence. Its object was to communicate true information to emigrants, and to those who proposed to emigrate, — and to make arrangements for their reception here, that they might be free from the impositions to which their condition is peculiarly liable. In this charge Mr. Peabody was greatly interested. But the public failed to support the society, and after about a year its action ceased.

In the winter of 1844 – 45, Mr. Peabody received from the Boston Association its license to preach ; and in August, 1845, he was settled as the pastor of the Unitarian church in Burlington, Vermont, where he had preached in the previous spring and summer ; and in that beautiful town he lived, in the discharge of his ministry, until his death. His health, however, became more and more delicate during the last years of his life, and, after a short, acute illness, he died, on the 6th of July last, three days before closing his fiftieth year.

The ministry had been the profession of his mature choice. He knew what it was, or what it might be, for he had seen for more than twenty years all the detail and beautiful completeness of his brother's ministry in Springfield. He knew what he himself should labor to do in it, for no man had a deeper sympathy for others, or a more devoted reliance upon God. With more and more interest, therefore, as his life passed on in other labors, did he contemplate this field of action. And therefore, when he entered on his duty at Burlington, it was to test hopes which he had long entertained, to try plans which were of old familiar to him. To himself it was a very happy epoch. It opened to him the whole of a field of labor in which he had already gleaned more than many professed reapers who had less fervency and zeal than he. The relief of the poor, the comfort of the sorrowing, the raising of society, were no new efforts to him ; and the duties of a Christian minister only united in a specific form hopes, labors, and exertions to which, in whatever occupation, he had always devoted his life. His entrance upon those duties, then, could not but be a happy

event to himself. It was peculiarly a pleasure to his friends, who felt that he was now exactly where he ought to be. You could not see him without feeling that he was too refined, too delicate, too tender, to bear much of the rough intercourse of the world. You could not know him without thinking, that, in whatever calling, he was one standing between God and his children, — between Jesus and his disciples. He himself would never have disowned any activity or rigid monotony of labor. In the hard routine of official life, he had no complaint to make of his position. But his friends, for him, could, and did, rejoice that he should be transferred to another scene and sort of effort.

And in his ministry, their presages were all made real, and his own satisfaction was never dimmed for a moment. An affectionate people became more and more attached to him, until the moment of his death, which separated him from no formal relationship, but from connection with a company of Christian friends most near and most dear. Whoever listened to his fervent and eloquent and tender exhortations from the pulpit, or joined in his affectionate, devout, and appropriate prayers, thanked God that such a precious servant was ministering at his altar. And his own people, who knew him, day by day, and year by year, in the ebbs and flows of his delicate health ; who saw him, day by day, in his enthusiastic discharge of the home duties of his parish ; who followed him in the zeal and poetical ardor with which he traced out God in the beautiful scenery which surrounded them, — in its prospects, its vegetation, its exquisite changes of summer and winter ; they who knew him as his friends knew him — and his friends only — were bound to him every day by a closer and closer tie, and every day must have come with him nearer and nearer to the God whom he loved while he worshipped. The gentle fearlessness with which he passed from the world to heaven will always linger in their memory. And, now that he has gone, they will enjoy more and more with every day that gift which death is forced to leave, as one compensation for a parting, — that nice perception of excellence, which, in the hour of grief, springs up from the clear memories of a whole life, far more definite, far more complete, than can be the ever-changing sentiment with which we regard a present, living friend.

To give an idea of such a man, the set facts of a biography are powerless. The dates and other details which we have

been repeating do not mark eras in Mr. Peabody's character. To one who did not know him they would tell nothing of what he was, nothing of that which made his friends love him. They give no clue to that character which it seems presumptuous to try to analyze, while yet we feel the first grief which mourns that he is taken away from us, — too soon for us, though not a moment before he was ready for God's higher services. To say simply, that, bred at college, Mr. Peabody was successively a lawyer and a legislator, an editor, a public functionary, and a literary professor, and that late in life he entered on the Gospel ministry, would give no conception, none whatever, to those who read these lines, of the man himself, unless they were of the number, all too small, of his personal friends. These different callings were only *callings* of the man. Faithful as he was to them, he was never their slave. Before his entrance on the ministry, as afterwards, he was a man of broad, generous culture, of the kindest heart, of the most active generosity, and of a living, fervent, devoted soul. Before, as well as afterwards, he trained himself by a diligent intellectual culture, which was doubtless seconded by a high, secret, spiritual effort ; so that his education was never over, — so that his life was always fresh, and he always young. And as his friends look back upon him to-day, it is to look back upon one whom they never saw without being glad that they saw him, whom they never parted from without making him promise soon to meet again ; one from whom, whenever they met, they received some gift of fancy, of learning, or of love, which they always prized, and by which they always remembered him, and to whom, when they separated, they looked back with new admiration and love.

Such reasons have his friends for remembering him and mourning for his loss. But by the public he is remembered rather for his gifts of intellect, and as a literary man. In all his different occupations, he retained, as we have said, the studies and tastes with which in his earlier life he had followed literary pursuits, and by which he gained the ease and power of usefulness which, as a man of letters, he always had. He was interested in foreign literature, but was most attracted by the classical literature of England. In this he was thoroughly versed. His lectures upon it were lively and interesting, and by his study of it he illustrated his writings and his conversation. But as a literary man he deserves this as his highest

praise, that, even in the goading haste of an editor's duty, he never wrote carelessly, or without something to say, — that, while he read more than most men of letters, he wrote much less, — and that he never prostituted his reading to the purpose of mere indolent amusement, glancing here and there at the reflections of the shadows of what were once great ideas. Passing hastily over the ephemeral reviews and re-statements which shallow flippancy digests from the original effort of great minds, he recurred for himself to the authors who were worth study; coped with them, whether dull or quaint or obscure, with his own resources; for himself found out their meaning, and with his own thought and labor arranged it for the world. He never published any thing but the miscellaneous papers to which we have already alluded, and such reports and other papers as he drew up in the course of his public duties. At the time of his death, however, he had been occupied in preparing a memoir of his brother, and this book he left nearly ready for publication.

What we have said of Mr. Peabody is eulogy, and is meant to be. It is eulogy coming from those who knew him too intimately to analyze his character, or even to undertake now to write his biography, without the presence of fresh regrets. It is the eulogy, however, of a spiritual man; of one in whom the true spirit always held ascendancy over mere intellect, as over the body; who was less and less bound to the earth, the longer he lived upon it. Such a man does not often attract around him a large circle of friends, and in Mr. Peabody there was a shrinking from observation, a delicate distrust, that perhaps separated him from the wide or general intimacy which a bolder man of his genius would have sought and gained. But those who knew him intimately and well remember him as one whom it was a privilege to know, and whom it is a privilege to remember.

E. E. H.

ART. X. — MARTINEAU'S EASTERN LIFE.*

MISS MARTINEAU's volume is not a book of travels simply; many, possibly, would like it quite as well, if it were. It

* *Eastern Life, Present and Past.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1848. 8vo. pp. 518.

deals with the past as well as the present ; contains theories as well as facts. In truth, we think the lady somewhat given to theorizing, nor can we always accept her solution of phenomena in the world's history. What may be called her philosophy of religion, or theory of religious development, appears to us more than questionable. Religious faith, she seems to intimate, originally grew up, by a sort of natural process, on the prolific banks of the Nile,* and whatever has since been added to the religious ideas and faith of the world — faith in one God and in human immortality — has, in her opinion, come up, if we understand her, from the depths of the human breast, from meditation and experience, not from any special revelation. From the history of man, since the first, she appears absolutely to exclude miracle. Yet she is full of reverence ; she holds spiritual truths as the highest truths and as attended with the greatest certainty, and has a deep veneration for Moses, and Samuel, — next to Moses “the greatest man in all Israel,” — and David, and above all for Jesus, who, gathering up, as it were, the threads of the whole past experience and past thought of the race, and coming out of the school of the quiet, contemplative, and peace-loving Essenes, gave to the world a perfect religion.† She is guiltless of what Coleridge calls, using a significant term, “bibliolatry.” We do not propose to enter into any argument with her on these points, but must in the outset record our dissent from some of the opinions which, though not formally reasoned out, pervade the book. Theories of religion are well enough in their place, and Miss Martineau has the same right as others to hold and divulge her own views, or present to the public her philosophical solution of spiritual phenomena, but we confess that we would rather see them somewhere else than in a volume of travels. At the same time, we must say, that, notwithstanding a dogmatism which amuses rather than offends us by its confidence of assertion upon points on which the learned differ, we discover in the publication before us no illiberal censure, but the most enlarged charity ; and this, though it may not silence criticism, certainly establishes a good understanding between the writer and reader.

As a traveller, Miss Martineau always interests us. She is quick, observant, intelligent, active, and persevering ; she

* p. 48.

† p. 403.

allows nothing to escape her notice. While pursuing her journey in the Desert especially, whether riding on her camel or walking, her infirmity of hearing, as she herself intimates, by rendering communication with her companions difficult, left her more leisure to use her eyes, and her descriptions bear testimony to her carefulness of observation. As a writer, her merits are too well known to require remark. Her style is easy, and she has a good command of language; she is fresh and original, avoids commonplace, and furnishes a narrative which, though not the most graphic, is sufficiently lively and distinct to satisfy the reasonable demands of the reader. If it does not fascinate, it keeps attention awake; it is pregnant with thought, rich, and suggestive. We, in truth, think highly of Miss Martineau's qualifications as a traveller. Having once joined her, one is reluctant to part from her. Not only her intellectual affluence and shrewdness, her pure and generous aspirations, and her freedom from conventionalism, but her equanimity, her courage, and especially her good-humor and unfailing cheerfulness, render her companionship agreeable, and, however we may dislike some of her opinions, or pronounce her fanciful, we regret the moment, when, her journey ended, she bids us a kind and courteous adieu.

The volume is divided into four parts, the titles of which are happily chosen, as enabling the author to bring into view, under a certain unity of connection, the four great religious systems of the earth, — Paganism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, — each in its geographical relation with her visit to the East. The first part, much the most copious, embracing half the volume, is appropriated to "Egypt and its Faith." Of this portion of her travels Miss Martineau speaks as to her "by far the most interesting." We are at no loss to comprehend her. Egypt — land of marvels, land of the Pyramids, of the Sphinx, of Memnon, and the glorious Nile, land of "wisdom" which lighted up the immortal genius of Greece — can never cease to be an object of intense curiosity and interest. The charm she wears to our youthful fancy remains fresh in age. After all that modern travel and research have done to disinter her buried treasures, to throw light upon her antiquities, to call up before us her old forms of life, we turn with unabated eagerness to any one who can tell us aught of her ancient civilization, her arts, her social organization, her worship, her ideas, and her traditions. Miss Martineau's volume, as we have said, purports to treat

of the past and the present in the countries she visits. These, in consequence of the fixedness of Oriental and Egyptian ideas and life, it is difficult wholly to separate. *True, much has perished, of which we can discover, if any, only few and indistinct traces, and to the knowledge of which the present furnishes no guide. The Pyramids, the Nile, the Desert, the seas, Sinai and Horeb, are left, but "towns and shores" have changed. Time has been doing its work; yet the East is the East still; Orientalism is there, and "Eastern life" is a phrase of peculiar and deep significance.

But we will not longer detain such of our readers as have not had an opportunity of reading Miss Martineau's book from a specimen of its contents. Speaking of Alexandria, she says, —

"We met fewer blind and diseased persons than we expected; and I must say that I was agreeably surprised, both this morning and throughout my travels in Egypt, by the appearance of the people. About the dirt there can be no doubt, — the dirt of both dwellings and persons, — and the diseases which proceed from want of cleanliness; but the people appeared to us, there and throughout the country, sleek, well-fed, and cheerful. I am not sure that I saw an ill-fed person in all Egypt. There is hardship enough of other kinds, — abundance of misery to sadden the heart of the traveller, — but not that, as far as we saw, of want of food. I am told, and no doubt truly, that this is partly owing to the law of the Kurán by which every man is bound to share what he has, to the last mouthful, with his brother in need; but there must be enough, or nearly enough, food for all, whatever be the law of distribution. Of the progressive depopulation of Egypt for many years past I am fully convinced; but I am confident that a deficiency of food is not the cause, nor, as yet, a consequence. While I believe that Egypt might again, as formerly, support four times its present population, I see no reason to suppose, amidst all the misgovernment and oppression that the people suffer, that they do not still raise food enough to support life and health. I have seen more emaciated, and stunted, and depressed men, women, and children in a single walk in England, than I observed from end to end of the land of Egypt." — p. 20.

On the twenty-fifth of November, 1846, the party to which Miss Martineau belonged go on board a steamer, which is to take them along the Mahmoudieh canal to the point of its junction with the Nile at Atfeh. This canal is one of the "vaunted" improvements of Egypt, which cost in its construction over twenty thousand lives, — a fact adduced as illustrative

of the severity of the Pacha's government. So great is this severity, we are told, that the people will submit to almost any suffering or privation, rather than enter his army, his manufactories, or his schools. Passing from the canal into the Nile, Miss Martineau thus records her first impressions on seeing the Pyramids, as they appeared in the remote distance. The direction in which they stood had been indicated to her.

"In a minute," says she, "I saw them, emerging from behind a sand-hill. They were very small, for we were still twenty-five miles from Cairo; but there could be no doubt about them for a moment, so sharp and clear were the light and shadow on the two sides we saw. I had been assured that I should be disappointed in the first sight of the Pyramids; and I had maintained that I could not be disappointed, as, of all the wonders of the world, this is the most literal, and, to a dweller among mountains, like myself, the least imposing. I now found both my informant and myself mistaken. So far from being disappointed, I was filled with surprise and awe; and so far was I from having anticipated what I saw, that I felt as if I had never before looked upon any thing so new as those clear and vivid masses, with their sharp blue shadows, standing firm and alone on their expanse of sand. In a few minutes, they appeared to grow wonderfully larger; and they looked lustrous and most imposing in the evening light. This impression of the Pyramids was never fully renewed. I admired them every evening from my window at Cairo; and I took the surest means of convincing myself of their vastness, by going to the top of the largest; but this first view of them was the most moving, and I cannot think of it now without emotion." — p. 28.

On arriving at Cairo, the party immediately make preparation for ascending the Nile, intending to proceed as fast as the wind would carry them, leaving the monuments on its banks to be explored on the return voyage. The sail up the river furnishes some incidents, and gives occasion for some description and remarks which we should be glad to transfer to our pages, but most of which we are compelled to pass over. After some reflections on the character and destiny of a people, as affected by "the characteristics of the soil on which they are born and bred," and on the origin of Egyptian ideas of life and death, Miss Martineau adds:—

"One other obligation which the Egyptians owe to the Desert struck me freshly and forcibly, from the beginning of our voy-

age to the end. It plainly originated their ideas of art, — not those of the present inhabitants, which are wholly Saracenic still, but those of the primitive race who appear to have originated art all over the world. The first thing that impressed me in the Nile scenery, above Cairo, was the angularity of almost all forms. The trees appeared almost the only exception. The line of the Arabian hills soon became so even as to give them the appearance of being supports to a vast table-land, while the sand heaped up at their bases was like a row of pyramids. Elsewhere, one's idea of sand-hills is that of all round eminences they are the roundest, but here their form is generally that of truncated pyramids. The entrances of the caverns are square. The masses of sand left by the Nile are square. The river-banks are graduated by the action of the water, so that one may see a hundred natural Nilometers in as many miles. Then, again, the forms of the rocks, especially the limestone ranges, are remarkably grotesque. In a few days, I saw, without looking for them, so many colossal figures of men and animals springing from the natural rock, so many sphinxes and strange birds, that I was quite prepared for any thing I afterwards met with in the temples. The higher we went up the country, the more pyramidal became the forms of even the mud houses of the modern people; and in Nubia, they were worthy, from their angularity, of old Egypt. It is possible that the people of Abyssinia might, in some obscure age, have derived their ideas of art from Hindostan, and propagated them down the Nile. No one can now positively contradict it. But I did not feel on the spot that any derived art was likely to be in such perfect harmony with its surroundings* as that of Egypt certainly is, — a harmony so wonderful as to be perhaps the most striking circumstance of all to a European, coming from a country where all art is derived,† and its main beauty therefore lost. It is useless to speak of the beauty of Egyptian architecture and sculpture to those who, not going to Egypt, can form no conception of its main condition, — its appropriateness. I need not add that

* This is one of the instances in which Miss Martineau falls into a negligence of diction inexcusable in one who wishes to merit the praise of correctness, to say nothing of elegance, of style. The needless repetition of participial nouns, common in some writers of the day, is a mark either of carelessness or of a want of acquaintance with the resources of our language. The latter we cannot impute to Miss Martineau.

† "Even the Gothic spire is believed by those who know best to be an attenuated obelisk; as the obelisk is an attenuated pyramid. Our Gothic aisles are sometimes conjectured to be a symmetrical stone copy of the glades of a forest; but there are pillared aisles at El Karnac and Medeenet Haboo, which were constructed in a country which had no woods, and before the forests of northern Europe are discernible in the dim picture of ancient history."

I think it worse than useless to adopt Egyptian forms and decoration in countries where there is no Nile and no Desert, and where decorations are not, as in Egypt, fraught with meaning, pictured language, messages to the gazer. But I must speak more of this hereafter." — pp. 49, 50.

The voyage is continued into Nubia as far as to the second cataract, when the party prepare for a return, and for an examination of the monuments. At this stage of her narrative, Miss Martineau introduces an "Historical Sketch" of Egypt, from the time of Menes to the occupation of the country by the Romans. She takes us far back into the ages. She alludes to Abraham as walking round the "vast bases" and "looking up at the smooth pictured sides" of the Pyramids, which "had then stood somewhere about 1500 years." "The builders, tens of thousands in number, had slept for many centuries in their graves; the kings who had reared them lay embalmed in the stillness of ages, and the glory of a supremacy which had passed away." "There is no doubt," she asserts, "about the ancient Egyptians having had an extensive written literature; but it is lost. It was shelved when the Greek language and literature became the fashion in Egypt." She speaks of the "old Egyptian complexion" as probably "of the dark bronze of the Nubians of the present day," though of this, as she in another place remarks, there is no certainty. The "type of the old Egyptian face," she says, "has great beauty, though a beauty little resembling that which later ages have chosen for their type." Its characteristics she describes as "the handsome arched nose, with its delicate nostril; the well-opened, though long eye; the placid, innocent mouth, and the smooth-rounded, amiable chin. Innocence is the prevailing expression; and sternness is absent."

In her remarks on the "Death Valley of Thebes," she presents the "Old Egyptian Views of Death and Hereafter," of which she had said something before. The following passage may be worth extracting, though it contains little that is new. We omit the authorities adduced, which will be readily found by reference to the volume itself.

"It appears that there was a lake made near every capital city in Egypt, for the transit of the dead; and a sacred boat to bear the hearse; and a boatman whose official name, written in Greek, was Charon. The funeral trains were obliged to pass over this lake on the way to the tomb; but they might return by land.

The purpose of the obligatory custom of crossing the lake was, that all the dead might pass through the same ordeal before admission to their 'eternal habitation,' as the priests called the tomb. This ordeal was judgment by the forty-two assessors who, on earth, performed the first stage of the work which was to be completed by the forty-two heavenly assessors, who awaited the dead within the threshold of the unseen world. Notice was given to these judges of the day of the funeral; and they stood in a half-circle on the nearer shore of the lake, awaiting the arrival of the funeral train. Any person might accuse the deceased in their presence of any immoral act. If the accusation was proved, the deceased was not allowed to pass. If the accuser could not substantiate his story, he was severely punished. Even kings have been known to be turned back from the place of embarkation, when acts of injustice have been proved against them; and it appears that the priests had no more exemption than others from this ordeal. Those of the rejected dead who had left a family behind them were carried home, and their mummy-cases set upright against the wall of some chamber; a perpetual spectacle of shame and grief to their families, who suffered acutely from the disgrace of what had happened. Those who were poor and friendless, as well as vicious, were put into the ground where the rejection took place; and this was the shore where their melancholy ghosts wandered, if poets say true, pining for the Elysian fields which lay beyond,—those Elysian fields being the beautiful meadows which, in the principal burial-place of the Nile valley, at Memphis, extended beyond the Lake of the Dead, all flowery with lotus and blossoming reeds." — p. 176.

The future judgment in the unseen world follows, and is far more fearful. The arrival of the person is announced.

"His secret faults, and his sins of omission, of which men could be no judges, are now to come under review; and Thoth, whose legend declares him 'the Secretary of Justice of the other great gods,' is to produce his book, in which he has recorded the whole moral life of the soul come to judgment. The forty-two heavenly assessors are believed to represent the forty-two sins which the Egyptians believed man to be subject to. Each searched the newly arrived soul, and declared its condition in respect to the particular sin. Then came the trial of the balance. The symbol of the actions of the candidate is placed in one scale, and the symbol of integrity in the other. Thoth looks on, ready to record. Horus holds the hand of the candidate; and the dog watches the process, ready to turn on the condemned, if his scale should be 'found wanting.' If all is well, he advances in front of the balance, and finds the infant Horus seated on his

lotus-blossom before the throne ; and on the throne is the Judge, prepared to welcome him by raising the end of his sceptre, and to permit him to enter among the gods within. Of the happy state little was revealed, because, as it was declared, ' the heart of man could not conceive of it.' Almost the only particular declared was, that there was a tree of Life, on whose fruit the gods wrote the names of mortals destined to immortality, and whose fruit made those who ate of it to be as gods. His relatives thought of him as wearing on his head, as a mark of his justification, the feather of integrity ; and they wrote beside his name, from that time forward, the name of the goddess of Justice : a practice equivalent to that of affixing the epithet ' justified ' to his name. This goddess of Justice, Thmei, is present during the trial of the soul : and she is identified in the sculptures by her legend, ' Thmei, who lives in Amenti, where she weighs hearts in the balance ; — no sinner escapes her.'

" The survivors of any one for whom a burial has been obtained, but who might be suspected of unfitness for the heavenly mansions, were enabled to form but too clear an idea of his fate ; for the pains of the wicked could be conceived of by human imagination, though the immortal pleasures of the just could not. The purgatory of the Egyptians was, in fact, described definitely enough ; and the representations of it in the tombs give a strange sensation to the gazer, before he has become accustomed to them. At the extreme end of a large tomb at Thebes, I saw some marks on the black and stained wall which made me hold my candle nearer, and persevere till I had made out the whole sculpture, which gave me at last the impression of a bad dream. A hopeless-looking pig, with a bristling back, was in a boat, the stern of which was towards the heavenly regions. Two monkeys were with it, one at the bow, and the other whipping or driving the pig. This was a wicked soul, sent back to earth under the conduct of the agents of Thoth. The busy and gleeful look of the monkeys, and the humbled aspect of the pig, were powerfully given. This was the lowest state of the punished soul ; but it would have to pass through some very mournful ones, and for a very long time, — to be probably a wolf, a scorpion, or a kite, or some other odious creature, in weary succession, — for a term of from three thousand to ten thousand years. This was called passing through its ' orbit of necessity.' " — pp. 178, 179.

On bidding " farewell to ancient Egypt," Miss Martineau indulges in some reflections, a portion of which, though somewhat tinged, we cannot help thinking, by the fancy of the writer, we place before our readers.

" The amount of what one does learn by the eye is very great,

— really astonishing in the case of a people whose literature is lost, instead of remaining as an indication of what one is to look for, and a commentary on what one sees. What do we not owe to their turn for engraving and painting! Here is a people, remaining only, as one may say, in the abstract, — living only in the ideas they have bequeathed to us, and in the undecayed works of their hands. No one of that great race survives; we have their corpses in plenty, but not a breathing man left of them all. We do not know what their complexion was. Their language is lost, except as studious men pick it up, word by word, with painful uncertainty, from an obscure cipher. But, phantoms as they are to us, how much do they teach us!

“ We almost lose sight of the evidences of their ways that they have left us, in recognizing the ideas that they have recorded and transmitted. Here they were, nearly two thousand years before the birth of Abraham, worshipping One Supreme God, and owning him for their king, appointing for his agent and chief servant, as their ruler, a priest whom they called his son. They recognized his moral government, — always strictly a moral government, through how many hands soever it might be administered, — whether those of his personified attributes, or those of his human instruments. The highest objects set before these people were purity of life and rectitude of conduct. Their highest aspirations were directed to the glory and favor of God in this life, and acceptance by him hereafter. Their conceptions of death were, that it was a passage to an eternal existence, where a divine benefactor, sent to dispense the mercies of the Supreme, had gone before them, having submitted to death, in order to overcome the power of evil, and who had, therefore, been raised from among the dead, when his probation in Hades was ended, and made the eternal Judge of the living and the dead. Those whom he judged favorably had their names written in the book of Life, and were brought to taste of the tree of Life, which would make them to be as gods; after which they were to enjoy such bliss as it has not entered into men's hearts to conceive. The wicked were meanwhile to undergo shame and anguish till they had expiated the very last sin, or were to be destroyed.

“ They believed the creation to have taken place as they annually saw re-creation take place. They said that the Spirit of the Supreme moved on the face of the waters, and that the dry land appeared at his bidding, yielding vegetation first, and then animals. They believed in a substantial firmament, wherein the sun and moon were placed, which were privileged to travel, with the spirits of the virtuous in their train, through a long series of mansions in the great abode of the Supreme. They taught that

every mind, whether of man or brute, was an emanation from the Supreme, and that the body was only its abode and instrument, — the soul being, from its nature and derivation, immortal." — pp. 227 – 229.

Cairo is modern, and in reference to it Miss Martineau thus speaks : —

"There are few gayer things in life, for one who chooses to be gay, than a visit to Cairo. The stranger must use a few precautions against the disturbance of his gayety, and then he may surrender himself to the most wonderful and romantic dream that can ever meet his waking senses: the most wonderful and romantic, — because there is nothing so wonderful and romantic in the whole social world as an Arabian city; and Cairo is the queen of Arabian cities. Damascus is usually ranked with Cairo; but, full of charms as Damascus is (as we may see by and by), it is charming for other reasons than its virtues as an Arabian city; on which ground it cannot for a moment stand a comparison with Cairo." — p. 243.

The view from a particular eminence — "the terrace of the citadel" — has scarcely a parallel, and by some, says Miss Martineau, is thought "to be unsurpassed by any in the known world."

"I would entreat any stranger to see this view first in the evening, — before sunset. I saw it three times or more. In the morning there was much haze in the distance, and a sameness of color which hurt the eye. At noon there was no color at all, — all color being discharged in the middle of the day in Egypt, except in shady places. In the evening the beauty is beyond description. The vastness of the city, as it lies stretched below, surprises every one. It looks a perfect wilderness of flat roofs, cupolas, minarets, and palm tops, with an open space here and there, presenting the complete front of a mosque, and gay groups of people, and moving camels, — a relief to the eye, though so diminished by distance. The aqueduct is a most striking feature, running off for miles. The City of Tombs was beautiful and wonderful, — its fawn-colored domes rising against the somewhat darker sand of the Desert. The river gleamed and wound away from the dim south into the blue distance of the north, the green strip of cultivation on its banks delighting the eye amidst the yellow sands. Over to the west, the Pyramids looked their full height and their full distance, which is not the case from below. The platform of the Great Pyramid is here seen to be a considerable hill of itself; and the fields and causeways which intervene between it and the river lie as in a map, and indicate the true dis-

tance and elevation of these mighty monuments. The Libyan hills, dreary as possible, close in the view behind them, as the Mokuttam range does above and behind the citadel. — This view is the great sight of Cairo, and that which the stranger contrives to bring into his plan for almost every day." — p. 249.

We should like to give Miss Martineau's view of life in the "hareems," two of which she saw; and her chapter on the "Present Condition of Egypt" would furnish some good extracts, but we have not room for them. The second part of her travels comes under the head of "Sinai and its Faith." We take a single passage, from the chapter entitled "Moses at Mount Sinai."

"The great interest of the Sinai region lies in its unaltered and unalterable character. There it is, feature by feature the same as when those events occurred which make it holy ground. In every other kind of scenery there is more or less change, from one thousand years to another. The country is differently cleared, or cultivated, or peopled: even the everlasting Nile changes its course. But here, where there is neither clearing, nor cultivation, nor settled people, where it seems as if volcanic action only could make new features in the scene, and where volcanic action does not seem probable, there is no impediment to one's seeing Sinai as it was when Moses there halted his people. And I did so see Sinai, during the memorable Sunday we spent there. Turning my back on the convent, and forgetting the wretched superstitions of the monks, I looked abroad that day with the eyes of a disciple of Moses, who had followed his footsteps from Memphis hither; and I saw more than by many years' reading of the Pentateuch at home. How differently the Pentateuch here reads, from the same worn old Bible which one has handled for five-and-twenty years, I could not have imagined. The light from Egypt and Arabia shining into it illuminates unthought-of places, and gives a new and most fresh coloring to the whole. I little thought ever to have seen so much of Moses as I did this day, within sight of Arab tents, like those in which he and Zipporah and their children lived when first here with Jethro's flocks; within sight of the same peaks which were landmarks to the wandering tribes, and of the same wadees where they rested, and surrounded by the very same mountain springs whence they brought water for themselves and their flocks. The wells within the convent seem to have been always inexhaustible; yet I dare say some of the Hebrew women and children discovered the ice-cold spring behind, which has no doubt lain in its shadowy nook since Horeb was upreared. I wonder whether it was fringed with ferns when

the Hebrew women saw it, as it is now. It was a tempting place for gossip, — for sitting down in the shade to talk over the comforts of Goshen, and the verdure of Egypt, and pointing out the dreariness of this place, and reminding one another how unwilling they and their husbands had been to leave Egypt, foreseeing that they should only get into trouble by trying a new country.* In yonder plain was the crowd of dark, low tents, with no tabernacle yet in the midst. Among the neighbouring wadees were the herdsmen dispersed, tending their flocks every day of the week; for as yet there was no Sabbath. This and very much more did I see on that Sunday at Sinai; much that I could not have seen, if I had been a contemporary disciple of Moses; much that can be seen only by the light of an after age, of the educational purposes and processes for which the Hebrews were brought here.” — pp. 318, 319.

Leaving Sinai, the company proceed by way of Akaba to Petra, — the wonders of which are described, — and thence to Palestine. We have then “Palestine and its Faith.” Here we find familiar and soul-stirring names, — Hebron, and Bethlehem, and Jerusalem, the plain of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, Cana, and Nazareth, — and we are prepared to witness all the moral enthusiasm which these names and the spots to which they belong awaken in the breast of the traveller. Miss Martineau’s mind is pretty thoroughly divested of superstition, yet she has, as already said, a great deal of reverence, and her pervading idea, on entering the Holy Land, and during her travels through it, is that of the great Teacher who there lived and spoke eighteen hundred years ago, making the places on which he trod hallowed ground to all coming time. Our readers may be curious to hear what were her impressions on visiting Jerusalem.

“It is still,” says she, “a noble city. The Jebusites certainly chose for their fort one of the finest sites in the world; and when David took it from them, he might well glory in his beautiful Zion. From this day forward how dead seemed to me all my former impressions of Jerusalem! — not of its sacredness, but of its beauty and nobleness. I can scarcely remember the time when I did not know familiarly all its hills, and its gates, and its temple courts, so as to read the New Testament as with a plan in my head. But I never had the slightest conception of that beauty which now at once enabled me to enter into the exultation of

* “Exodus xiv. 12: — ‘Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians?’”

David, and the mourning of Nehemiah, and the generous concern of Titus, and the pride of the Saracen, and the enthusiasm of the Crusader. The mournful love of the Holy City grew from day to day, as I became familiar with its precincts; but no single view so took me by surprise as that which we obtained in the course of our walk this first day.

"There is a strange charm in the mere streets, from the picturesque character of the walls and archways. The old walls of yellow stone are so beautifully tufted with weeds, that one longs to paint every angle and projection, with its mellow coloring, and dangling and trailing garlands. And the shadowy archways, where the vaulted roofs intersect each other, till they are lost in the dazzle of the sunshine beyond, are like a noble dream. The pavement is the worst I ever walked on; — worse than Cologne; worse than my native city of Norwich: but being a native of Norwich, and having been familiar with its pavement for thirty years, I was not so distressed as my companions, who could hardly make their way in Jerusalem over the large, slippery stones, slanting all manner of ways." — p. 404.

Miss Martineau's descriptions of Eastern life are always vivid. Here is an example, in few words: —

"Before four o'clock, the next morning, April 21st, I was looking abroad from a sort of terrace, where I had gone, as soon as dressed, for air, when I saw a curious sight. The neighbours were not up; and I overlooked many households asleep on their roofs. They had laid their mattresses there, and slept in their ordinary clothes, with a coverlet thrown over them. As the daylight brightened upon their faces, one after another began to wake, — the children stirring first. They rolled and rubbed their eyes, threw off their coverlets, and jumped up, — dressed for the day apparently." — p. 474.

We must here take leave of this pleasant volume, one further extract from which, had space allowed, we would have given, presenting Miss Martineau's views of Mohammed, which may strike some of our readers as new, though they are by no means peculiar to her.

A. L.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte von Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Prof. der Theol. in Basel. Leipzig. 1847. — Compendium of Dogmatic History. By Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Professor of Theology in Basle. Second and improved Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi., 349; xvi., 496.

WE have long needed a good compend of dogmatic history. Muenschcr's "Elements" has been an authority with our theological students, since the appearance of Dr. Murdock's translation in 1830, and had no rival in the English language until 1846, when the first edition of Hagenbach (1840-41), translated by R. W. Buch, was published in Clark's (Edinburgh) Foreign Theological Library. That Muenschcr's work was very insufficient is obvious at once, when we remember the progress of historical and theological study since the date of its completion, 1811. Nor has the Edinburgh translation of Hagenbach satisfied the want, appearing as it did just on the eve of the publication of the second German edition, which is the work now before us. During the years intervening between the two editions (1841-47) monographic works of high character have been published in Germany by such eminent theologians as F. C. Baur, Meier, Dorner, Semisch, Bindemann, etc., whilst Hase, Baur, and others, have made valuable contributions to the general department of dogmatic history.

The author is an associate of De Wette in the University at Basle, and showed his regard for that eminent scholar by dedicating to him his Theological Encyclopædia, a most valuable work, of which the second edition was published in 1845. We suppose that in theological position he does not differ essentially from De Wette, unless it be that he is much less encumbered with the forms of philosophy, and more disposed to rest upon the supernatural facts of Christianity. His favorite model, we should decidedly say, is Herder, and by the catholic standard of that noble scholar and thinker he seems to aim to judge of the course of Christian doctrine in the various stages of its development.

The work now before us is divided into five periods; the first extending from the Apostolic age to the death of Origen, A. D. 70-254; the second period, from the death of Origen until John Damascene, A. D. 254-730; the third, from John Damascene

to the Reformation, the time of scholasticism, in the broadest sense, A. D. 730 – 1517 ; the fourth, from A. D. 1517 to 1720, the period of church controversies or doctrinal antagonism ; the fifth, from A. D. 1720 to our own time, the period of criticism, speculation, and of the antagonism between faith and knowledge, philosophy and Christianity, reason and revelation, and the attempted reconciliation of this antagonism. The volumes have been upon our table several months, and have been of great service in every instance in which they have been consulted. In reference to recent times, they indeed deal too exclusively with German theologians, and are deficient in their survey of foreign divinity. Yet the author has taken note of the chief movements in the entire domain of Catholic and Protestant churches. We must not think it strange that he appears to know nothing of our Channings and Stuarts. That he has heard of Jonathan Edwards is some proof that, in his view, America is not wholly heathen. As a specimen of the bearing and spirit of the book, we would say, that, in speaking of the doctrine of the Trinity as held in the primitive period, he regards it simply as a brief statement of the main facts of the New Testament, without the least idea of doctrinal system or metaphysical definiteness. The primitive Christians believed and baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit, as all receivers of the New Testament have done and do. The Nicene and Athanasian creeds were in his opinion quite different matters,— the productions of a far different age and different habits of mind.

We do not think that more valuable aids for students of Christian history and theology can be procured in the same compass than are afforded by these two volumes, and the Theological Encyclopædia by the same hand, in one volume. We add, for the convenience of such students, that the price of the former is \$4.50, and of the latter \$1.75, as furnished by Garrigue in New York. In paper and print they surpass any German theological publications that we remember to have seen. o.

Egypt's Place in Universal History: an Historical Investigation, in Five Books. By CHRISTIAN C. J. BUNSEN, D. P. and D. C. L. Translated from the German, by CHARLES H. COTTRELL, Esq., M. A. Vol. I. London. 1848. pp. lii., 739.

THIS stout volume, of about eight hundred pages, is the first of three which are to bring together the results of the various studies and discoveries in reference to Egypt, and educe from them their lessons, both special and universal. The present

volume contains but one of the five promised Books. It is divided into six sections, and closes with three Appendices. Of the six sections, the first three treat of the historical researches and traditions regarding Egypt, respectively among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Jews; the second three treat of the original Egyptian memorials themselves, under the heads of Language, Writing, Mythology. The Appendices contain the Egyptian Vocabulary, a complete list of Hieroglyphical Signs, and a collection of Authorities. The whole First Book thus justifies its title, "*The Sources and Primeval Facts of Egyptian History*," and is fitly dedicated to Niebuhr, the prince of antiquarian historians.

The Second Book is to treat of the Chronology of the Old Empire of Menes, which continued 1076 years, until the Shepherd Kings, and is to bear the name of him deemed the best authority in the matter, Eratosthenes. The Third Book is to deal with the periods of the Middle and New Empires, comprising nine and thirteen centuries respectively, and is to bear the name of Manetho, who is the author's guide through this long time. Having thus considered the history of Egypt from the earliest authentic time to the downfall of the empire, or from Menes to Alexander, Bunsen will proceed to give the matured results of his labors. In the Fourth Book, he will submit his researches to a double test, — first, to that of astronomy, and, secondly, to that of historical synchronism or of historical parallelism. The astronomical portion will bear the name of Champollion, the historical that of Scaliger. The Fifth Book will contain a survey of general history, and will aim to exhibit whatever is valuable in the Egyptian race in its bearing upon mankind. This most ambitious and important part of the whole work is to borrow its title from the name of Schelling. We can say, without pedantry, that we look with impatience for the appearance of this last Book, which thus promises to solve the great Egyptian riddle, and make the Sphinx open her stony mouth.

The volume before us gives proof of great patience, discrimination, learning, and candor. The division is clear, and the style is tolerable, nay, for a German, excellent. That we have mastered the whole volume we cannot say, for of the hieroglyphical lore at the end we can honestly repeat what the Scotch dame said to her minister, who asked her if she understood last Sunday's sermon, — "*We wadna hae the presumption*." We have looked over the pages with reference to the main points at issue between historians or theologians, and find Bunsen's views very distinctly stated, and very plausible. The section on the Jewish history is exceedingly valuable. It shows the uncertainty

of our usual reasonings upon the chronology of the Old Testament prior to the age of Solomon. For the pedants and bigots who lorded it over the domain of sacred chronology in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bunsen has small respect. His independence generally is such as becomes the honored associate of Arnold. That he will succeed in giving us a work not inferior to the high standard marked out in his Introduction, we sincerely hope. May he be like Herodotus in the success of his treatise, as well as in the felicity of the choice of names given to its Books. There is more fitness in associating six such sages with a great historical work than the nine Muses. If not in style, surely in truth, history has gained in the interval between Herodotus and Bunsen. o.

Popular Objections to Unitarian Christianity Considered and Answered. In Seven Discourses. By GEORGE W. BURNAP, Pastor of the First Independent Church of Baltimore. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 166.

Lectures to Young Men on the Cultivation of the Mind, the Formation of Character, and the Conduct of Life. By GEORGE W. BURNAP. Third Edition, corrected and enlarged. Baltimore: J. Murphy. 1848. 12mo. pp. 350.

THE publication of the Discourses in the first of the volumes above named is not, as we conceive, ill timed. The occasion of their delivery, as the author states in his Preface, was the "re-opening" of his church, after having, last year, "undergone extensive repairs." The first discourse relates particularly to the history of the society with which Mr. Burnap is connected as pastor. The subjects of the others are, — "Unitarians not Infidels," — "Explaining the Bible and Explaining it away," — "Unitarianism not mere Morality," — "Unitarianism Evangelical Christianity," — "Unitarianism does not tend to Unbelief," — and "Dr. Watts a Unitarian." These topics, though not new, Mr. Burnap treats with a freshness of thought which will render the volume acceptable to those who have a taste for reading of this sort, while its general merits place it in the class of works one would wish to see extensively circulated among those who think that Unitarianism has nothing to stand upon, or that it is a doctrine full of impiety.

The call for a third edition of Mr. Burnap's "Lectures to Young Men" affords evidence of the place the work holds in the estimation of the public. To this edition are added three new Lectures, — on the "Importance of Early Habits," — "Duties of an American Citizen," — and "Destiny of the English Lan-

guage." The mechanical execution of the volume is not less attractive than its contents. A portrait is prefixed, which may possibly remind his friends of the author. L.

Lectures on Shakspeare. By H. N. HUDSON. New York : Baker & Scribner. 1848. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 336, 348.

WE have in these volumes new evidence, added to the almost numberless proofs, of the brilliant predominance maintained by the genius of the great English poet over the finest minds. Never was a heartier, more absorbing admiration than Mr. Hudson's for his subject. He began some years ago, in this city, the delivery of the lectures now printed, — at first attracting so few hearers as to be almost discouraged in his attempt, but at length, by unquestionable indications of his ability, gathering large audiences here and in many other places. Those who were interested in the original hearing of the lectures will, we think, enjoy still more the reading. For, by long-continued meditation and much re-writing, they are now presented to us like "beaten oil," pure and rich, without worthless admixture. The criticisms on Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear, and Othello are, however, by far the most powerful specimens of analysis in the work. That on Macbeth is the masterpiece, and will hold a good comparison with any effort of the same kind with which we are acquainted. Mr. Hudson treats of Shakspeare, not only as a creator in the realms of imagination, but as giving us the best of all uninspired texts on human nature, and the truest epitome of the world ; and he establishes well his author's matchless claims. Not seldom we notice a fulsome strain of admiration, which leads us to fear that Mr. Hudson's moral judgment has been blinded by partiality for his author, — but the origin of the fault may be accepted as its palliation. Sometimes we are painfully conscious that we are looking not directly at Shakspeare, but through the critic's lens ; but it is, perhaps, too much to expect the colorless medium of intellectual disinterestedness in any earnest commentator. Sometimes the design of a whole paragraph appears to be, not to unfold the meaning of the play, but to recommend with partisan fierceness the author's own favorite notions of religion and morals ; but we can take these passages for what they are worth, without letting them obscure the clear light elsewhere thrown on the dramatic characters, whose peculiarities and relative positions it is our writer's business to expound. With whatever exceptions, we shall find matter abundant to reward our attention. B—l.

Lead Diseases : a Treatise from the French of L. Tanquerel Des Planches, with Notes and Additions on the Use of Lead Pipe and its Substitutes. By SAMUEL L. DANA, M. D., LL. D. Lowell: D. Bixby & Co. 1848. Svo. pp. 441.

THIS is a book which, in these days, all who value health and comfort, and would not needlessly expose themselves to loss of either, should carefully read. Cases of suffering from lead, either as employed in the arts, or as used for the conveyance of water, are more numerous than they who have given no particular attention to the subject are aware. Lead is a comparatively cheap material, easily wrought, and convenience and economy combine to recommend it for a variety of purposes. It is desirable that persons should know the danger, under certain circumstances, incurred by its use, and the distinctive symptoms of the diseases, often lingering and dreadful, creeping on by insidious and stealthy step, which may be the result. The volume before us treats of the whole subject with distinguished ability and great exactness. It is founded on the French work of Tanquerel Des Planches, of which it is an abridged translation, with notes and additions. The original work was published in 1838, and was "crowned," as the French call it, "with the Montyon prize of 6,000 francs, by the Royal Academy of Medicine, in 1841." From his connection with the Hospital of Charity, the receptacle of nearly all the workmen in Paris and the vicinity suffering from diseases occasioned by lead, the author had rare means of conducting his inquiries with success. He became acquainted with a multitude of cases, which he carefully arranged and compared, and, after eight years of diligent observation and study, gave to the world the result. In placing the substance of the work before the American public in a condensed form, Dr. Dana has rendered an important service to the community. He has performed his part, we think, in a manner very creditable to himself. He has retained all that is essential of the original, relating to the variety of lead diseases, the symptoms, and treatment; and his notes and additions very materially enhance the worth of the volume. The article in the Appendix, on "Lead Pipe," or "the Use of Lead as a Conduit or Reservoir for Water for Domestic Purposes," by the American editor, is particularly deserving of attention. The language of the work, though occasionally technical, is, for the most part, such as will be readily understood by the general reader, and we see not why the translator has not attained his object, — that of producing a volume which "will be found both professional and popular."

L.

The Marriage Offering: a Compilation of Prose and Poetry.
Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 207.

WE are told in the Preface, that this volume was compiled "at some leisure hours from graver studies and duties." That those "graver studies" have produced valuable fruits, all will testify who have examined the Commentaries which bear the name of him whose well-known initials commend the "Marriage Offering" to public favor. The fruits of the "leisure hours," also, are pleasant and useful, bearing the marks of good taste and pure sentiment, as distinctly as the other works to which we have alluded, of Biblical learning and spiritual discernment.

We miss from the compilation extracts from one or two of the best writers who have graced the themes to which the volume relates, — such, for example, as Jeremy Taylor, whose "Marriage Ring" will never lose its golden richness and pure lustre. But there is no lack of agreeable and instructive pieces, and the book well answers the purpose for which it was prepared. It will be an appropriate and welcome gift to the newly married.

R.

Endymion. A Tale of Greece. By HENRY B. HIRST, Author of "The Penance of Roland," "The Funeral of Time," etc. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 122.

To read an American poem four cantos long is not a common possibility; to read it with admiration is a startling and very pleasant experience; but Mr. Hirst's "Endymion" is no ordinary production. There is a melody in his versification which captivates the attention, and a reality in his descriptions of nature which fascinates the senses. In the first and second cantos especially, there are stanzas in reading which we seem to breathe the dewy fragrance of the fields, — to be refreshed with the coolness of the river and the shade of the trees. In these respects, Mr. Hirst has shown himself fully equal to his subject; but there are higher demands which he has not satisfied. His whole conception of the story of Endymion seems to us extremely commonplace. What can be more foreign from the essence of the Grecian tale than the idea of the dreamy Endymion marching grim and dusty at the head of a Roman legion, or the introduction of an earthly maiden as the wronged and maddened rival of Diana? The peculiar metre, too, which Mr. Hirst has adopted from Bryant, is singularly inappropriate to such a poem. Much, however, may be pardoned to a man confessedly ignorant of poetry and the poetic art; and when diligent and reverent study shall have delivered him from this

reproach, we shall expect something permanently noble and worthy from the author of this volume. H—t.

Orta Undis, and other Poems. By J. M. LEGARÉ. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 102.

THIS is a collection of sufficiently graceful and musical verses, by a young Carolinian, a kinsman of the late Hugh S. Legaré. Its most remarkable peculiarity is, that it takes its title from a Latin poem, in a monkish measure, given at the end of the book. There is, apparently, no especial reason why the verses should have been published, neither is there any objection to their being read now that they are. They are, in fact, very ephemeral productions; but the writer shows an active and thoughtful mind, and is evidently too sensible a person to have staked his fortunes on this single cast. H—t.

The Peasant and his Landlord. By the BARONESS KNORRING. Translated by MARY HOWITT. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1848. pp. 351.

THE reading public owe another debt of gratitude to Mary Howitt for introducing a new Northern writer. The Baroness Knorring has a high reputation in her own country, and is destined to be a favorite in ours. With the advantage of novelty in her favor, in addition to her various merits, Fredrika Bremer may be destined to sustain the popularity she has enjoyed in America without finding a rival in her fair countrywoman. But we are told that in their own country the two writers stand side by side, and certainly this first of the stories of the latter, which has been selected as the commencement of a series of translations, cannot fail to create a desire for a better acquaintance, and justifies the opinion of the translator, that, when once the author is fully known, the originality and excellence of her writings will be felt and acknowledged by English and American readers. R.

Aquidneck; a Poem, pronounced on the Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Redwood Library Company, Newport, R. I., August 24, 1847. With other Commemorative Pieces. By CHARLES T. BROOKS. Providence: C. Burdett. 1848. 16mo. pp. 63.

ONE or two of Mr. Brooks's pieces contained in the present

little collection we have seen before; and one of them first appeared in the pages of this journal. Aquidneck is a pleasant commemorative poem; and, with the other effusions that appear in company with it, is marked by a genuine love of nature, and purity and freshness of feeling. L.

What I saw in California; being the Journal of a Tour, by the Emigrant Route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the Continent of North America, the Great Desert Basin, and through California, in the Years 1846, 1847. By EDWIN BRYANT, late Alcalde of St. Francisco. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 12mo. pp. 455.

WE have been much interested in this volume, which is written in a style of easy narrative, and contains much, and, we doubt not, authentic, information about a country the future relations of which with our own must inspire in multitudes a desire to learn something more than has been hitherto known of its geography, climate, soil, mineral treasures, and people. L.

The Importance to the Young of a Rational and Firm Belief in the Truth of the Christian Religion. A Sermon delivered in Lewin Mead Chapel, Bristol, on Sunday Morning, May 2, 1847. By the REV. WILLIAM JAMES. London: J. Chapman. 1847. 8vo. pp. 19.

A Discourse delivered in the First Congregational Church, at Harvard, Worcester Co., Mass., on the Day of the Annual Fast, April 6, 1848. By HENRY B. PEARSON. Boston: W. B. Fowle. 1848. 8vo. pp. 22.

Military Glory. A Sermon preached at the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, N. Y., Sunday Morning, July 16. By FREDERICK A. FARLEY, Pastor. New York. 1848. 12mo. pp. 15.

The System of the Universe, being a New System of Christian Philosophy, containing a Complete Explanation and Classification of Universal Science, founded upon Unchangeable Laws, and embracing within its Formulæ every Department of Human Inquiry. Corrected from the Original Discovery made by FRANCIS LESEUR, in 1831. Book First. Hartford. 1843. 8vo. pp. 40.

Remarks in Refutation of the Treatise of Jonathan Edwards, on the Freedom of the Will. By W. B. GREENE. West Brookfield: Cooke & Chapin. 1848. 12mo. pp. 30.

Oration pronounced by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop,

Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Fourth of July, 1848, on the Occasion of Laying the Corner-stone of the National Monument to the Memory of Washington. With an Introduction and an Appendix. Washington. 1848. 8vo. pp. 67.

WE have received but a scanty supply of pamphlet literature within the last two months, and a portion of that has not the utmost freshness. Mr. James's Sermon is on an important subject, and the thoughts it contains are just and forcible, and are presented in a serious, Christian spirit. — Mr. Pearson's Discourse is chiefly on "political liberty," of which he gives a very rigid definition, accompanied with striking illustrations and some strong statements. — Mr. Farley's is a spirited Sermon, pointing out the fallacies connected with "military glory," and breathing fervent aspirations for the coming of a better era, when the "holy and peaceful faith of the Gospel" shall bring about the final abolition of war.

The title of Mr. Leseur's pamphlet is suited to awaken a prejudice against the writer, which, we fear, will not be entirely removed by its perusal. Though it has just come into our hands, it was published several years ago; and then appeared as the "First Part" of a volume, the remainder of which has not yet been printed, from which we infer that it did not meet with any special favor in the region where it was issued. — The attempt to refute Edwards's "Treatise on the Will," in a pamphlet of thirty pages, containing an examination of only a single section of the work, may be thought, and justly, as it seems to us, to argue some degree of self-confidence. We cannot say that we think the author wholly successful, but we commend his "Remarks" to the notice of those who take special interest in a subject which has from a remote antiquity engaged, and will long continue to engage, the attention of speculative minds. If we may offer a verbal criticism, "otherwheres," the plural of "otherwhere," looks oddly enough to our eye. — Mr. Winthrop's Oration, appropriate in its topics, eloquent in its language, and lofty alike in its political and in its moral sentiment, is worthy to be associated with the day and the occasion on which it was delivered. Of the "Prayer," by Rev. Mr. McJilton, "delivered" at the same time, and printed with the Oration, we are bound to say, that, beyond any other devotional service which we remember to have seen or heard, it displays an ambitious *eloquence*, which, however it may have sounded in the ears of patriotic listeners, is strangely at variance with our notions of what an address to Heaven should be.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — The unexpected death of Rev. Mr. Peabody of Burlington, Vt., is an event to which we cannot refer without an expression of sympathy, not only with his own congregation, but with all the churches over which the influence of his character was felt. Our previous pages contain a notice of his life, prepared by a friend.

We regret to learn that the determination of Rev. Mr. Edes, to remain at Bolton, has been overruled by circumstances, and that he will close his ministry in that place with the end of the year. — Rev. Mr. Bartlett of Marblehead, in consequence of his incessant labors for many years, finds his health so much impaired, that he has been obliged to relinquish, in a great measure, his public duties, and will probably soon receive a colleague. — Rev. Mr. Withington of Leominster has been compelled by feeble health to ask a dismissal from his people. — Rev. Mr. Clarke, late of Charlemont, has removed to Warwick, and will supply the pulpit in that town. — Rev. Mr. Gale, late of Norton, has taken charge of the pulpit at Barnstable. — Rev. Mr. Newell, late of Pomfret, Vt., has become the minister of the congregation in Brewster. — Rev. Mr. Coe, formerly of Greenville village, Norwich, Conn., has resumed his connection with the pulpit in that place. — Rev. Mr. Rice, late of Mendon, has accepted an invitation to spend a year with the society at Eastport, Me. — Mr. O. J. Fernald, a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School in the year 1847, has accepted an engagement to preach for a year to the society in West Thomaston, Me. — Mr. T. S. Lathrop, who has just finished his studies at the Meadville School, has taken charge of the pulpit at Northumberland, Penn., left vacant by the death of Rev. Mr. Kay.

Our record of ordinations, installations, and dedications shows the disposition of our people to secure for themselves the regular administration of public worship. Several meeting-houses have been rebuilt or remodelled, and a conviction of the importance of a permanent ministry will, we trust, supplant that fondness for change which has marked our ecclesiastical history for the last few years. — The arrangements to which we referred in a previous number, for relieving the Second Church in this city from a burdensome debt, having failed, Rev. Mr. Robbins has resigned his office, and the meeting-house has been closed; but the great body of the congregation have determined to maintain their mutual connection and their relation to their pastor, and to provide for themselves a place of worship less remote from the centre of the city. They meet at present in the chapel of the Church of the Disciples, of whose pulpit Mr. Robbins takes charge during the absence of Rev. Mr. Clarke, who has been compelled by enfeebled health to lay aside all public labors. — The New North Church in this city has made a very favorable exhibition of the state of its affairs, and will, probably, soon be in a condition to offer another minister a permanent settlement.

The habit of change in the pastoral relation, to which we have so often adverted as affecting the prosperity of our churches, prevails, we

are led to believe, to at least an equal extent, in other denominations. Rev. Mr. Adams, minister of the Universalist society in Malden, in an address delivered "at the close of ten years' ministry" in that town, observes:—"I would not have believed, until undeniable fact assured me, that there are but three other Universalist pastors in this State besides myself, out of one hundred and thirty clergymen here, who stat- edly minister in the same pulpits they occupied as pastors ten years ago."

The absence of the inhabitants of Boston, as of other cities, from their homes during the summer, has a most injurious effect on the appearance of our congregations. In some instances, three fourths of the people are "out of town," and to a stranger, who is ignorant of the extent to which this practice prevails, the vacant pews bear evidence of an almost entire disregard of public worship. Each year the number increases of those who pass more or less time on the sea-shore or in the neighbouring villages, and this summer the spectacle of emptiness which meets the eye of the preacher, as he looks around him, would seem to bespeak a general dissatisfaction with his services. The sight is by no means one that can be witnessed only in Unitarian churches. It may be noticed, to a greater or less degree, in all denominations. With the autumn the people will return, bringing, we hope, hearts full of gratitude to the Providence that has given them such opportunities of refreshment and health; but we fear that the habit of regular attendance on the public services of religion, of which our fathers transmitted an example that their children are not, under usual circumstances, too eager to follow, may be seriously impaired. A summer residence in a place where, from one cause or another,—sometimes from a regard to convenience, and sometimes from taste,—even those persons who are constantly seen in the church when at home are led to neglect the social institutions of the Lord's day, is not in all respects favorable to good habits. It is the law of a wise Providence, that in this world advantage and disadvantage go together; and our moral integrity is shown in securing the good without also realizing the evil. Our readers under whose eye these remarks may chance to fall, while they are rustivating in their pleasant quarters, will understand their application.

Meadville Theological School.—The Fourth Anniversary of the establishment of this institution was celebrated by the exercises of the graduating class, June 29, 1848. On the previous evening the annual discourse was preached by Rev. George W. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y., from Matthew x. 34. The class consisted of nine young men, by whom dissertations were read in the following order: "The Doctrine of the Nicene Creed,"—Mr. Noah Michael, of Ohio; "The Exclusive System,"—Mr. Samuel W. Koun, of Ohio; "The Demand of the Age upon the Ministry,"—Mr. Thomas S. Lathrop, of Massachusetts; "The 'Little Horn' of Daniel,"—Mr. Evan W. Humphrey, of Ohio; "The 'Ministry at Large' in Cities,"—Mr. William Cushing, of Massachusetts; "The Use of Reason in Matters of Faith,"—Mr. Alvin Coburn, of Vermont; "The Object of Christ's Mission,"—Mr. Nathaniel O. Chaffee, of Massachusetts; "The Principles of the Reformation,"—Mr. Liberty Billings, of Maine; "The Scriptural Doctrine of Election,"—Mr. Stillman Barber, of Massachusetts. The President of the School then delivered the certificates to the members

of the class, with a pertinent address, and the exercises were closed, as they had been opened, with prayer.

It will be observed that six of the graduates of the year were from New England. We hope that in future years a larger proportion of the students will be drawn from the West. The School was established to meet the wants of that part of the country, and our own Divinity School ought to afford, and does offer, the means of theological education to our Northern young men. The Meadville School, we are glad to learn, enjoys the confidence of the greater portion of the "Christian Connection," and we may hope it will receive evidence of their sympathy with its purposes in the number of those who from this body shall avail themselves of its privileges of instruction.

Cambridge Divinity School. — The Thirty-second Annual Visitation of the Divinity School of the University at Cambridge was attended on Friday, July 14, 1848. The graduating class consisted of six young men, who read dissertations on assigned subjects, viz.: "The Miracle of the Barren Fig-tree," — Mr. James F. Brown; "The Character of Christ as an Argument for the Truth of his Religion," — Mr. Solon W. Bush; "The Origin and Import of Sacrifices," — Mr. Joseph H. Phipps; "Man's Moral Condition by Nature," — Mr. Israel A. Putnam; "The Design of Christ in his Parables," — Mr. Daniel W. Stevens; "The Theological Position of Arminius," — Mr. Joshua Young. The exercises were opened and closed by prayers from Professors Noyes and Francis, and three hymns written for the occasion, and intended, we presume, to be sung by those leaving the institution, were performed in their behalf by a special choir.

The Alumni of the School held their annual meeting in the afternoon, and chose as officers for the year, Rev. George R. Noyes, D. D., *President*; Rev. Ralph Sanger, *Vice-President*; Rev. John F. W. Ware, *Secretary*; Rev. G. G. Ingersoll, D. D., Rev. William Newell, Rev. A. B. Muzzey, *Committee of Arrangements*. Rev. Samuel Gilman, D. D., of Charleston, S. C., was chosen Second Preacher for the next year, Rev. Francis Parkman, D. D., of Boston, being First Preacher, according to the vote of the last year. Rev. S. K. Lothrop, as chairman of the committee that had been appointed by delegates of different ministerial associations who met in Boston, March, 1848, to confer with the Corporation of the University on an increase of the means of instruction and the number of teachers in the School, read certain communications which had passed between this committee and the Corporation. Remarks were made by different gentlemen on the condition of the School and its relation to the University, and the committee that had already held correspondence with the Corporation were instructed, as a committee of this body, to report upon the whole subject of the position and wants of the School at the next meeting of the Alumni.

The annual Address before the Association of the Alumni was delivered in the College chapel, at 4 o'clock, by Rev. George W. Burnap of Baltimore, on the "Tendencies and the Wants of Theology in our Country at the Present Time." It appears in the present number of the Examiner.

The annual Discourse before the graduating class of the Divinity School was preached in the meeting-house of the First Parish in Cambridge, on Sunday evening, July 9, by Rev. Horace Bushnell, D. D.,

of Hartford, Conn., from 1 John i. 2 ; his subject being the Atonement, which he discussed at length under its doctrinal and its moral aspects.

The situation of the Divinity School has been the subject of much remark of late. Its connection with the College is regarded, we believe, alike by the friends of the School and of the College, as a disadvantage to both ; and yet there are legal difficulties in the way of a separation. The instruction, in the various departments of theological education, is thrown upon two Professors, who are also required to perform certain services in the College ; but the funds of the institution, it is said, do not warrant the appointment of other Professors. The confidence of our people in the character of the instruction given at Cambridge, and the influences under which the young men pursue their studies for the ministry, has been impaired by the views on important questions with which some are understood to have left the School ; while the freedom of inquiry and independence of dictation which have honorably distinguished the institution from its commencement render variety of opinion almost inevitable. The small number whom it sends out for the supply of our churches is noticed, together with the fact, that few of the graduates of the College afterwards enter the School ; but a similar or greater decrease of pupils is observed in other theological seminaries, and both in this country and in Europe, from causes some of which may be obscure, while others are obvious, less disposition is shown now than in former years to select the ministry as a profession for life. These are among the topics which present themselves to those who are interested in the success of our Divinity School, and they show the folly as well as the injustice of hasty censures and precipitate conclusions. On two points we presume there is a general concurrence of opinion, — that the School does not accomplish what is needed from such an institution, and that, in its present entangled and crippled condition, it is not probable that its efficiency will be much increased. What shall be done for the further promotion of theological education among us is a question which demands, and we doubt not will receive, the earnest attention of those, both ministers and laymen, who care for the prosperity of our churches or the spread of Christian truth.

Dedications. — The meeting-house erected by the First Parish Congregational Society in HAVERHILL, Mass., was dedicated August 9, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Richardson of Haverhill, from 1 Corinthians vi. 16 ; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem ; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Higginson of Newburyport and Goodrich of Haverhill.

The meeting-house of the First Congregational Church in NORTH-BORO', Mass., having been remodelled, was dedicated anew to the purposes of Christian worship, August 15, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Allen, pastor of the church, from Psalm cxxvii. 1 ; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. ; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Allen of Sterling, Hale of Worcester, and Allen of Washington, D. C.

Installations. — REV. SUMNER LINCOLN, formerly pastor of a Trinitarian Congregational church in Gardner, Mass., was installed as Minister

of the united Unitarian Societies of HAMPTON FALLS and KENSINGTON, N. H., June 28, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem, from Matthew x. 20; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Parkman of Dover, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Thomas of Boston; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Holland of Boston; and the other services, by Messrs. Higginson of Newburyport and Osgood of Cohasset.

REV. HENRY FRANCIS EDES, formerly of Nantucket, was installed as Minister of the Unitarian Society in WOBURN, Mass., July 6, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from 2 Corinthians v. 18; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford; the Address to the People was given by Rev. Mr. Edes of Bolton; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Randolph of Lexington.

REV. JAMES RICHARDSON, formerly of Southington, Conn., was installed as Pastor of the Unitarian Church in HAVERHILL, Mass., August 9, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from 2 Corinthians iii. 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Hampton Falls, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Longfellow of Fall River; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y.; and the other services by Messrs. Harrington of Lawrence and Hodges of Cambridge.

OBITUARY.

THOMAS P. JONES, M. D., died at Washington, D. C., March 11, 1848, aged 74 years.

This able and excellent man was a native of England, but early emigrated to this country, and became a resident of Philadelphia. His labors and exertions in various official duties and public trusts, extending from that period through fifty years, entitle him to more than private remembrance. He has long ranked high as a man of general science. In the departments of chemistry and natural philosophy, he has contributed two of the best elementary treatises extant. He was appointed Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy in William and Mary College, Virginia, afterwards in Columbia College, in the District of Columbia, and subsequently he received a similar appointment in the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia. In all three places, his lectures were attended with pleasure and benefit by many besides those of whose professional instruction they formed a part. In Philadelphia, he commenced the publication of the *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, first at his own expense; and through this work, which he continued to edit for twenty-eight years, until his death, he was enabled to do much for the advancement of the sciences and the mechanic arts in this country. His connection with the United States Patent Office, of which he was appointed Superintendent by John Quincy Adams, brought him into acquaintance with the leading mechanics and artisans of the country, and contributed not a little to the diffusion of accurate scientific knowledge among them. It brought into requisition his extensive knowledge of the history and details of the patented in-

ventions of foreign countries, a reference to which was important in pronouncing upon the novelty and validity of American claims. For the last fifteen years, though again connected with the Patent Office as Examiner of Patents, his principal business was that of attorney for procuring patents; in which capacity he renewed his former usefulness, and found both constant employment and abundant success. His acquaintance with men of science, abroad and at home, was extensive, and their estimation of him was shown in his election as an honorary member of various learned institutions.

Neither his high reputation, nor the consciousness of having well attained it, could destroy in Dr. Jones that simplicity of character, or that warmth of feeling, which drew towards him the hearts of those to whom he was personally known. Gentle in his manners, gifted with remarkable power of utterance and illustration, and deeply religious, he was well suited to the office he long sustained, of superintendent of the Sunday school connected with the Unitarian society in Washington; and the successive ministers of that society found in him that ready counsel and active sympathy and coöperation which are so encouraging in the discharge of pastoral duties. During his residence in Philadelphia he was one of the most efficient members of the Unitarian congregation, and was always remarkable for the constancy of his attendance on the religious services of the society with which he was connected. He was ever a firm and faithful friend; and if any treated him injuriously, he seemed to feel rather compassion for the evil they inflicted on themselves, than resentment on account of the wrong to him. In a religious society comprising, notwithstanding its scanty numbers, an unusual amount of moral and intellectual excellence, Dr. Jones was among the most distinguished. He has gone from them now, as have many, associated with him, who will long be fondly remembered in the circle which they once adorned. A.

REV. PETER EATON, D. D., died at Andover, Mass., April 14, 1848, aged 83 years.

Dr. Eaton was a native of Haverhill, Mass. His ancestors were among the yeomanry of that town, and his early training in their occupation gave him a constitution to endure the toil and trials of his professional life. He commenced his classical studies with his minister, the Rev. Phineas Adams, and completed his preparation for college at Phillips Academy, under the instruction of the late learned Dr. Eliphalet Pearson. He graduated at Harvard College in the year 1787, in the class of which John Quincy Adams was a member, and in 1820 received from his Alma Mater the degree of D. D.

On leaving college, Mr. Eaton taught a school twelve months in Woburn, and having passed the year in reading divinity with Mr. Adams, he was ordained over the Second Church in Boxford, Mass., October 7, 1789. Of this church he died the senior pastor; and till the last eighteen months of his life he had the sole charge of the pulpit. Soon after retiring from the public services of his profession, he removed to Andover, where he ended his days, in the grateful and affectionate remembrance of the society with which he had lived more than half a century in uninterrupted harmony, and whose devotion to the comfort of his declining years was hearty and untiring. His remains were removed to Boxford, and there rest with those for whose spiritual preparation he so long and so faithfully labored.

Dr. Eaton was a child of nature. Without aspiring to the personal graces of artificial society, he was satisfied with the plain manners of a rural life. His mind was of a high order. It moved rapidly through its processes of thought. With a quick and clear perception, he saw readily the resemblances and the differences of things. His judgment was sound, and, reasoning logically, he seldom had occasion to regret or change his conclusions. With a limited library, and but little time left him for reading, in consequence of his stinted means of living and the claims of pastoral duty, he relied more, for his personal improvement and weekly preparation for the pulpit, on his own reflections than on borrowed thoughts. This gave an air of originality to his sermons, and, with his fervent spirit and earnest and distinct enunciation, rendered him a popular preacher. In theological speculations he was truly liberal, and in his feelings most catholic, — embracing in his enlarged charity the good of his race of every name under heaven. He stood with such men as the late Drs. Thacher, Lothrop, and Eliot of Boston, Ware, the elder, of Cambridge, Barnard of Salem, Andrews of Newburyport, Symmes of Andover, and Cummings of Billerica. He believed in one God, the Father, and in one Mediator, Jesus Christ, the Son of God. On Calvinism he looked with utter abhorrence. From no lips did its doctrines receive more decided and scorching rebuke than from his. To show the strength of his feelings on this subject, he was more than once heard to say of a son, who at the time was a member of the Andover Theological Seminary, "I would rather bury him than have him leave that School with the exclusive spirit of Orthodoxy, — a sour Calvinist." Still Dr. Eaton seldom carried controversy into the pulpit. His regard for the feelings of others, and his reluctance to give offence, often closed his lips when and where less sensibility of this sort would have allowed greater freedom of utterance. Though decided in his religious opinions, and at times fearless in the expression of them, his usual preaching was in respect to dogma so indefinite, that he failed to leave upon the majority of minds that listened to him from week to week his own distinct mark. Indeed, some of his hearers whose love of Calvinism was strong, it is said, claimed him as a believer in its doctrines; and to this day insist that he was, at least, *Calvinistic*.

Dr. Eaton was a warm-hearted man. He loved his race as the creatures of God, — made in the Divine image. For the downcast and the downtrodden he cherished a deep fellow-feeling. And, ever true to the claims of a ready and generous hospitality, he never allowed the suppliant to leave his door hungry or naked. With his parishioners his intercourse was familiar and endearing, and secured for him their warm affection and unmeasured confidence. In their afflictions they shared his ready and deep sympathy; and in his best days, no man was happier in administering to the wants of the sorrowing heart. Indeed, all who knew him will ever remember "his frank and cordial greeting." His modesty was a marked feature in his character. He always seemed satisfied with his narrow sphere of duty, and was ambitious of no honor but what "comes unlooked for." More than once he rejected an invitation to exchange his little vineyard for a wider field; regarding a floating ministry as utterly hopeless in respect to ministerial usefulness. His labors were confined almost wholly to his own flock. He once preached the State Election Sermon. He has left in print two or three discourses, called for by some of his own people and by members of

neighbouring societies. At a time of religious excitement in Essex county, he published two sermons on the negative and positive character of religion, — stating clearly and forcibly in what religion does not, and in what it does consist. But these perishable monuments of his worth are powerless, compared with the imperishable memorials created in the hearts of his friends by his truly Christian walk. For, though dead, he yet speaks to them, and will continue to speak to them so long as eminent goodness has a voice to raise in time, and a moving power to exert in eternity.

L—g.

HON. JONATHAN CHAPMAN died at Boston, Mass., May 25, 1848, aged 41 years.

Mr. Chapman was a native of Boston, where he was born January 23, 1807. After graduating at Harvard College, in the class of 1825, and completing his preparatory professional studies, he established himself as a lawyer in this city. His talents, education, and eloquence made him conspicuous in this community, while the integrity of his character, the unfeigned kindness of his manners, and his generous, frank, and magnanimous spirit won for him an unusual degree of affection and confidence. Perhaps it was without precedent that so young a man should be called to preside over the municipal affairs of so large a population, and yet Mr. Chapman's administration was as much distinguished for calm discretion in emergencies, and a careful financial economy, as for the grace and felicity with which he presided and spoke on public occasions. Of the eminent citizens who have filled the office of Mayor of Boston, no one, it is believed, has ever given more universal satisfaction in the discharge of its arduous duties. He steadily shunned political preferment, because he feared that its excitements might be unfavorable to that moral tranquillity and health which he prized above every thing. His chief delight was in his home, and it is as seated there that we would prefer to draw his portrait, if we were permitted. His sunny face, his warm heart, and candid speech, bound his friends to him with a singular strength of attachment. The purity of his life, and the unbending rectitude of his moral principles, brought him a large measure of respect and trust in the walks of business. In him the most childlike sprightliness and simplicity of mind were united with great sagacity and the manliest dignity and wisdom. He was a devout man, fearing God, — a believing and professing disciple of Christ, observing all the ordinances of the faith, "and walking in the truth" day by day, among men. His death, so sudden and untimely, was felt as a large private and public loss. An unusual concourse of real mourners filled the church at his burial, grieving for the departure and honoring the memory of a good and true and dearly valued man.

P.

**** Erratum.** — The ordination of Mr. Willard at Westford took place May 24, and not June 14, as stated in our last number.